ISSUE # 23 Bi-Monthly Magazine February 2006

ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

LETS DISMANTLE PATRIARCHY

~~Privilege~~ ~~Hierarchy~~

~~Authority~~ ~~Coercion~~

Anarchist Journal from Eastern Europe

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

“ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW”

AN ANARCHIST COURIER FROM EASTERN EUROPE

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and it's effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of the continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

AN ANARCHST JOURNAL

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly magazine with information on different political and cultural processes and activities in Eastern Europe seen, commented on and analysised from an anarchist perspective.

EDITORIAL TEAM & ABB COLLECTIVE

ABB is an international collective of migrant anarchist activists living in Berlin. The collective was formed in Autumn 2001 by a group of east-european migrant activists and was later joined by other migrant activists from other parts of the world. As well as this publication the collective also organizes a radio-show, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings and cultural events. We also cooperate with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and support local and global struggles against all kinds of oppression and for a free-society:.

CORRESPONDENTS

Our work would not be possible without the great contributions of our corespondents from around EE. The work is based on a relativly stable network of corespondents from different regions of EE which are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.

EXECUTORS

Publishing, editing, text treatment, translation, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, english-proof, distribution to the local distributors, website design ... all done by ABB Collective, Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB

COOPERATION

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-comming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas. opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a corespondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region.

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectivly as possible.

DEADLINES

Deadline for next issue: 15.03.2006

FREE COPIES / PRINT RUN

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian librarys in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents. At the moment we print by ourselves 1500 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

FINANCES

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our costs only through selling the newspaper so we would appreciate, if possible, benefits from outside

BAD ENGLISH REPUTATION

As you probably noticed *THE ENGLISH* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its gramatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *ENGLISH* in which most of our corespondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *ENGLISH* which is understandable for ourslves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*BAD ENGLISH* REPUTATION" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especialy in south and eastern Europe.

ABOLISHINGBB ONLINE

www.abb.hardcore.lt

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basicly - an archieve of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

NOT 100%

We do not necessarily agree 100% with all opinions expressed in the journal, but all here we found worth printing (for various reasons) !!!

This issue could only appear thanks to the financial participation of the following anarchist projects: Active Distribution, 56A Infoshop and Wombles.
The appearance of the next issues rely on YOUR active support.

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Alerta Antifascista!

Antifascist struggles around Eastern Europe

** Labour Struggles * Unnoticed News * Announcements * Squaters Dialogue * ABC Reports * Communities in Struggle * Colums**

EDITORIAL: DISMANTLING THE PATRIARCHY

Finally we are publishing an issue of the newspaper concentrating mainly on the important issue of patriarchy and all its interconnections. This topic has moved much more to the centre of discussion, regarding the analysis of our own work as a collective, partly promoted by the changes in the gender composition of the group over the years, which had turned out to be, until recently a mainly male collective. Regarding the feedback we had to the article and interview on prostitution in the last issue, it is clear that there is a need to make patriarchy much more a subject of discussion and also the confrontation or ignorance of the issue in libertarian and emancipative structures. We experience too often that, besides positive examples. patriarchy is a lot of times bold and simply rejected, but in its deep-rootedness ignored. This issue of the newspaper will try to stress the central importance and the ties to other issues. We are very glad about the great response and will try to give a short insight into the different spectra touched. The contributions can be roughly partitioned into four fields.

Analysis of patriarchy and capitalist society - different contributions dismantle the fundamental contradictions of patriarchy and the capitalist society, such as the repressive influence of the state, the church and the media on gender roles and behaviour as well as family systems: violence against women and / or minorities; homophobia; human trafficking, slavery, pornography and prostitution; war; consumerism and human beings as objects and commodities as well as the "private vs. political" debate.

Feminist / women's movement - some items engage in an inventory, analysis and critic of up to date feminist and/or women's movements. Of course the notion that women should be equal lies at the bottom of almost every feminist and women's group, but regardless of this truth-value, the focus and orientation can be totally different and even counter-productive. For example groups who advocate the separation of genders. Some mean a temporary separation for personal growth, others a permanent one. Or groups who just subordinate men to women and, by this, turn existing hierarchies up side down. As well as movements who try to obtain economic, political and social rights for women equal to those of men within the existing system.

Libertarian and emancipative structures – a central theme is the approach towards sexism and patriarchy within libertarian structures in Eastern Europe. It leaves the impression that the issue has still a low-level priority or is considered to be a women's subject. Traditional patriarchal socialization takes aim at mostly all women and men. Because of this reality, we have to exert a lot of time and energy into creating a more anti-sexist / anti-patriarchal atmosphere in our collectives as well as in our personal relationships. Once some people slap "anti-patriarchal" on themselves, they think once they know a problem exists, that they are no longer a part of that problem, which they are. Every person has to really think about how far the words they speak so well, really go. All too often, we who are genuinely against patriarchy fail to acknowledge and challenge the patriarchal behaviour that lies in ourselves or our collectives.

Emancipative struggles - all too often patriarchy masquerades as democracy and liberty, where people don't see through and just reproduce, as well as uphold, pro-patriarchal values and norms. Contrary to the general propaganda, which is oppressing most people and forcing them to conform to certain gender roles and appropriate behaviours, different articles show examples of emancipative struggles promoting progressive ideas and alternative life styles.

We think it is just the starting point for the newspaper. that we have brought the issue to the surface again and are waiting for your follow-up reports on analyses of patriarchy, examples of anti-patriarchal struggles and observations on developments. We hope that this issue has encouraged you all to analyse, critically reflect and advance the structures and dynamics in your collectives, your daily struggle and your personal relationships, with an understanding of the depth of what a shift to a new gender paradigm means and how fundamentally central it is to most other things.

But this issue includes of course much more important reports from Eastern barbarian Europe. Among the others, we would like to direct your attention on the ongoing struggles of anarchist anti-fascist groups, on permanent confrontations and resistance in the workplaces, on the first steps of the new government in Warsaw and growing resistance against it, on the ongoing mobilisation against the g8-summit in St.Petersburg, and on other interesting upcoming events in the region, like NoBorderFest in Timisoara and Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb.

Finally, we have to say a few words about our financial situation and the consequent changes we had to face within our newspaper.. as some of you readers living in western countries must have noticed, the price of ABB is this time increased to the incredible (!) cost of 1,50€. We took this decision considering a few simple things: our already huge amount of debts has risen to an indecent level within the last months, putting into big risk the continuity of the project, out of the same reasons as always: distributors which don't pay or pay a bit too late; the increased number of ABB pages since the last numbers; the free subscription to prisoners which, although some ABC groups around Europe really appreciated the benefit, it is still a money going out, etc. Also, we considered the fact that we hadn't raised the price since ages, almost since the beginning when ABB had been not a 60 page long newspaper distributed all round world (with then all the relative costs). Looking at other anarchist publications around the world, we still think that our price remains more than fair for most of our readers; anyway, we just like to remind people that we do still practice a price

If it were a lady, it would get its bottom pinched.
If this lady was a car she'd run you down.
FIAT

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THE PREVIOUS ISSUES

ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY FROM OUR GROUND-ZERO-OFFICE IN BERLIN

issue # 21 - October 2005: Editorial: "Selfcrucifixion is no fun"; **CZECHTEKK it out**; Food Bot Bombs in Kijev; **Electoral Circus back in Poland** - issues main topic; Unnoticed News; **Interview with anarchists from St.Petersburg** about upcoming G8-summit in russia; Radicsl ecological Protest-camp in Otradniy - Russia; War Criminals out of Prague - call for street protests; The 30th cogress of Anarchist Federation in Poland; The Battle of Czech-Tekk - photoreport; 5th general meeting of Autonomous Action; **Bacvanska from Inside - about custody reality in Serbia**; Is it better to be a criminal or an illegal person?- deportation prison in Basel (memories); ABC-reports; Anarchists Announcements and Appeals; @-Squatters Dialogue; **Freedom to People - Death to Empires! - various anarchist positions on war in Chechnya**; Exploitation in Supermarkets in Poland; Report from NoBorder Camps on bulgarian-greek border; Against war and a rmament - report from Brno; Counter Coulture - movie reviews; Anti-fascist news; Communities in struggle; and more ....

issue #22 - December 2005: Editorial:Fascist scum is coming from the deep sewer...lets burn the fucking sewerdown!; a call for protest: **G8 summit in St.Petersburg**; **Alerta Antifascista!**- the daeth of Timur Kaczarava; Equality Parade Poznan; Authorities tactics to seperate anarchists from other social movements in Slovenia; Interview- **Anarchist@s towards Prostitution**; After Elections in Poland; **Anarchism Towards Leftism-the eastern european perspektive**; Interview with Food Not Bombs Kiev& Warsaw, **The Reality Of The Nightmare** from the Barricade Collective Budapest,; Eviction of The Centrum Bialystok; poland- Freedom of assembly speech has been limited; interview with activist from support group for Mehmet Tarhan

Plus most other back issues from November 2001.
Write for details.

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If you think that
you can help with
filling that network
up ...
LET US KNOW

differentiation between western and eastern countries (as well as within eastern countries too), which means that the price over there remains the same as before (0,50 or 1€, depending on the region). We do hope that the message will be clear enough to everybody out there, and that you will continue to enjoy our newspaper taking also into consideration donating some benefit money to it. Talking about benefit, we have to give a lot of thanks and appreciations to 3 English anarchist projects which contributed in a decisive way to the printing of this number: ACTIVE DISTRIBUTION, 56@ ANARCHIST INFOSHOP and WOMBLES. all based in London.

Like some of them already did two years ago, these anarchist folks donated to our project altogether about 60% of the money needed for the printing of one issue of ABB: without this, probably this number wouldn't had seen the light of day, thanks a lot! Big thanks go, as well, to all the distributors who paid back their debts, and to all the groups who organised benefits for us lately. In this sense, we would like to stress again that we really appreciate this benefit way, where other groups and projects which in some moments find themselves with a bit more money, decide to donate them to less lucky ones... it sounds definitely like an invitation to you all out there for the future, isn't it cheesy enough?!

So, once again, we wish you a good time in reading about eastern European anarchist struggles, as well as the usual barbarian greetings from your-not-yet-knocked-down-ABB collective.

AbolishingBB,
February 2006

The newly elected rightist government in Poland wants to create a National Institute of Education (Narodowy Instytut Wychowania - "wychowanie" is "education" in the sense of teaching values). The ministry of education says that it is meant to restore youth to "traditional values". The institute would be independent of the government, but financed from the state budget. The vice prime-minister said: "We must teach the youth what is good, true and beautiful, and to remind them what is patriotism, civic duty and sacrifice to the greater good." The minister of education: "Education of youth must be based on christian values, which are common to all Europeans". Asked if that would not infringe on the rights of non-believers, the minister said that basic christian principles are shared by atheists as well. On January 11, FA-Szczecin organized an action against teaching catholic morality in schools and calling for a stop of indoctrination by state institutions. A similar action was held today in front of the Ministry of Education in Warsaw. In a happening, activists expressed their reverence to the "holy ministry" and kneeled down and laid on the ground in the position of a cross.

FEDERACJA
ANARCHISTYCZNA

THE POLISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION STATEMENT TOWARDS RELIGIOUS LESSONS IN SCHOOLS

Taking into account the right to free choice of beliefs and values, we consider groundless the proposal of the minister of education and science - prof. Michal Sewerynski - to base education of youth on christian principles.

Conscience is a private matter and no state institution can interfere with it. We find unconvincing the minister's statement that any person - even an atheist - has ultimately christian beliefs.

This thesis would suggest that only christians are truthful and that roman-catholic morality is the only rightful and just way of acting. Nothing farther from the truth!

We believe that education should be free of ideology and the attempts by state or church authority of one "true" point of view. We oppose any ideology imposed in education - including the christian one. It is without doubt that atheists and persons of other beliefs encounter problems in the institutions of education. Catholics are not even expected to declare the desire to join religion lessons, whereas atheists and people of other beliefs have to apply for exclusion from religion lessons and provide the reasons for it.

This does not serve balance and equality and makes it more difficult to express individual opinions. This inequality only serves to strengthen the Catholic Church and the domination of its discourse in the public sphere, including education.

Education should foster each child's individual abilities as much as possible and be open for dialogue. What takes place of that is catholic indoctrination from the earliest age.

We don not accept the teaching of superstition and censorship of content not in line with catholic interpretations, posing as "education". We call on all teachers and students who believe in freedom of beliefs to express their protest. We need to oppose the discrimination of those whose opinions are different than those of the Catholic Church.

Polish Anarchist Federation
www.fa.prv.pl

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN *ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT*

First actions of the Russian Animal Liberation Front (RALF) took place in the south of the country in 2000. In Krasnodar region and Republic of Adigeya, organizations responsible for exploitation and killing of animals began to be regularly attacked. The walls of the administrative building of the Sochi meat producing plant were decorated with slogans of protest several times. "Corpse carrier" and other signs were written on the vehicles of this plant. Sochi meat plant is the largest supplier of products of animal killing in the south of Russia. In July 2001, protest slogans with abbreviation "A.L.F." appeared on the walls of the company representing Sochi meat plant in the port of Novorossiysk. Also in Novorossiysk, a bucket of black paint was dumped on the stand advertising products of the local meat plant.

In July 2002 in the popular Russian Black Sea resort of Sochi, several protest slogans appeared on the walls and advertising stands of the city circus. One of the slogans stated: "Circus is a chamber of tortures!" The face of the clown on an advert stand was decorated with blood colour eyes and blood streaming from the mouth.

At the same time, protest slogans in red paint appeared on one of the advertising stands of the largest fur shop in Sochi. Another fur advertising stand was half-burnt. The communiqué sent afterwards confirmed that the action was carried out by the activist of the RALF. It was said in their communiqué that the fur advert would have burnt down completely if the fire brigade didn't happen to be nearby. The furs shop itself was also attacked. Many slogans of protest against fur industry were spray-painted on the front of the shop.

The summer of 2002 was marked by the destruction of 70 advert posters, and two stands disappeared from travelling exhibit of exotic animals in Lazarevsky and Adlersky districts of Sochi. At the same time, several slogans appeared on the walls of the Utrish dolphinarium (near Anapa) and on the road sign leading to it. They read: "Dolphinarium is a prison!", "Freedom to Animals" etc. On 1 August 2002 in Maykop, the capital of the republic of Adigeya, the travelling Rostov Zoo was attacked. Many protest slogans were spray-painted on the walls off animal cages.

On 12 July 2003 a RALF Supporters Group (RALF SG) began its work by opening a website "Earth and Animal Liberation" and by printing a series of leaflets and stickers. On the night of 2-3 September 2003, for the first time in the capital of Russia two fur and one hunting shop were attacked. It's worth noting that one of these shops is situated in the building of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Russian Federation. This Ministry more than any other state structure is responsible for animal abuse in Russia.

When RALF members were painting the shop windows with protest slogans, the shop guard slept soundly on the sofa on the other side of the windows. RALF SG received a communiqué, which says addressing animal abusers: "You need to remember that we will continue causing economic damage to the animal killers, until they stop their bloody business. Nothing will stop us." From September 2003 till May 2004, 18 more shops (meat, fur and hunting) were attacked in Moscow. On New Years Eve of 2004 and afterwards RALF activists several times spray-painted protest slogans on "The Diplomat Hunting Club".

RALF members use the Internet in their actions. They found a way to break into the pager of Sochi circus director, who received a thousand messages urging him to stop animal abuse. In 2001 a guest book of the Russian-language website in support of corrida was broken into. At the end of 2003 action against Huntingdon Life Sciences was carried out. 100,000 protest messages were sent to the e-mail addresses of its employees every 24 hours.

At the very initial stages of actions only economic sabotage was practiced, but no animals were set free. On World Day for Animals in Laboratories, RALF SG received a message that some animals were liberated. On 21 April 2004 RALF activists managed to get into the laboratory of the institute named after Anokhin, Russian Medical Academy. They freed 119 frogs and their eggs. Slogans spray-painted on the walls stated: "We Freed These Animals! Now They Will See the Sun!", "Vivisection has No Justification!" etc. All frogs and their eggs were taken to the wetland outside the city.

The news about the next action followed quickly. On 8 May 2004, 110 rats and 5 rabbits disappeared from the laboratory of Moscow State University Biological Department. These animals were used in experiments against alcoholism and drugs. Rats were fed drugs and alcohol, and rabbits had electrodes inserted in their heads. When vivisectors came to work, they found the doors of their laboratory, all animal cages and equipment broken. The walls of the lab were decorated with signs which read: "No Experiments on Animals!", "Shame on Vivisection!" etc. Communique released a few days later confirmed that the action was carried out by the RALF. It said that not a single animal was left in the lab and that all of them are now safe in good homes. Lab employees and militia people could not figure out how animal liberators got into the building and left it with all the animals without being noticed. 20 days after the event, RALF activists decided to visit the lab again. Their goal was to see whether there were any new animals in the lab. First they found a new door, this time a metal one with security camera. RALF activists broke the door and got into the lab. There were no animals inside.

Clearly these actions are only a beginning of a bigger movement of animal liberation in Russia. More frequently RALF is mentioned in media. One can see stickers with slogans "Direct action? Just Do It!", "Who will protect them, if not you?". And also graffiti calling to stop cruelty towards animals. RALF SG continuously updates its website with the information about direct action in defence of animal rights all around the world. The website gives recommendations on safety and access to multimedia files with possibility to download them. One can find out how to help A.L.F. activists including those who are imprisoned. On the territory of Russia at present no animal liberation, or Earth liberation activists are imprisoned.

From Oct 2003 until May 2004, RALF SG circulated 25 issues of updates. In addition to information about A.L.F. there are periodic materials on Earth liberation and actions towards it. ... and it is just a beginning!

Contact details:
Russian Animal Liberation Front
Supporters Group (RALF SG),
Website: aeliberation.net
(in Russian language)
E-mail: aeliberationnet@hotmail.com

SHORT DIARY OF RECENT ACTIONS:

★ During *October 2005* there was an International Fur Festival in Moscow. RALF activists organized several actions.

★ *October 20th*, Nizhny Novgorod city. The building where "Furs of Russia" exhibition was going on was covered with stickers. Advertising board was spoiled with red paint.

★ *October 19th*, Moscow. - Activists made an action against Department of Bank of Moscow in Tagansky district. Window and door glasses were broken, signs of "ALF" and "Get it for fur!" were left.

★ *November 24th*, Moscow. ALF activists broke show windows, two conditioners and observation video camera of fur shop "Snow King". Almost all show windows were broken when security started shouting. Activists were able to escape. It is possible to see on video and to hear security shouting.

★ *November 5th*, Koryazhma (Arkhangelsk region). "No to bloody fashion", "Fur is murder" etc. spray-painted on the walls and the doors of fur shop by ALF activists. Nearby, stickers about real price of fur were stuck up.

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

Emancipation

On the following 28 pages you will find 16 texts dealing the the main topic of this issue of ABB which is patriarchy and its diverse interconnections and ties to other social issues. The reasons, our motivation and imporatnce of giving this topic so much space in the magazine we have presented already in the very editorial text on the page 4.

Just to give you short idea at this place, most of the articles and interviews in here deal with the following aspects:

- analysis of patriarchy and capitalist society;

- feminist / women's / gay-lesbian movements;

- anarchist, libertarian and emancipative structures and its attitudes and aproaches towards the patriarchal reality including self-critical estimations;

- examples of anarchist and emancipative struggles against the chains of the patriarchy; presentation of progressive ideas and alternative life styles;

As usually, all texts are written from East european perspectiv.

We are quite sure that it is not the end of ABB focus on that issue - the reality in EE just not allowed to put this topic to the side. So if you think that some important analyses of patriarchy or examples of the anti-patriarchal struggles are missing on the following pages, contact us in order to express you opinions (if you are active in Eastern europe) or just look forward for the next issues of ABB (if you are just a reader of this journal).

AbolishingBB

"The success of the patriarchy is not
that it managed to subjugate woman,
but to make her think and function as a 'man'"

EMANCIPATION vs. ASSIMILATION

By Marija (Skopje - Macedonia)

"When female child is born, even the eaves are crying". I often use this proverb to recall the "bright" future there is, being a women here. But the impact of the state, the church, the tradition maintaining patriarchy is neither bigger nor smaller than in any other part of the world. What makes it maybe more specific here and makes me more angry personally, is the assimilation of women' movement and women' activism, turning them into the worse agent of capitalism and patriarchy.

The delusionist idea to copy-paste the capitalist model (and work) and with it, the western women's and feminists' way of working and ideas, made the silliest pro-patriarchal mixture of hierarchical - mass - ex socialist - structure women's organization. The new money making - project - the so called feminist groups, grow as such, and prevent radicals and libertarians from finding and making the connection with the feminism itself.

BIT OF HIS-STORY

Unfortunately his-story books mostly deal with facts like who won and who lost, and fortunately this makes women absent from these books. The first women organization here, that I am aware of, is from the second world war, when they became a part of the partisan struggle. That part was of course mostly nursing and cooking, but the spirit of unity was drifting among the comrades. After the war, as everybody became members of the communist party, all women were also members of the one women organization. Being atheist country saved us from the church brainwashing, but after 90s revival of orthodox Christianity, the general situation of transition, poverty and confusion, and the religious ignorance made many people swallow the church dogmatic stupidity. But let's see what we inherited as a women organization. One massive umbrella organization covering local groups all over the country, represented in a once-a-year general assembly by local presidents, most obedient to the everlasting very authoritarian president of the whole organization. The purpose of these local groups was gatherings, best housewife competition, best cake competition, celebrating 8th of March together in a restaurant, and so on. What follows, somewhere in the middle 90's there was a division in the organization and two separate networks were created. Very soon other local groups went out, new groups started to form. Following the national tension, two-national block division, a parallel network of Albanian women is born.

The refugee crises from Kosovo and the war conflict itself in Macedonia brought vulture foundations and "humanitarian" organizations here. Money, projects, new NGOs (this western term incorporated in our vocabulary as if we had it for centuries) were rising like mushrooms after rain. Integration of women refugees in the new environment, psycho-social support of women refugees, multi-national

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workshop...money made the cooperation between Albanian and Macedonian women possible. The "privilege" to witness all this happening in the very upheaval moments, from a close distance, enabled me to see all the fascist, homophobic, sexist, militarist, authoritarian behaviors within the biggest network of women. Till that crucial moment of war conflict in Macedonia, money was successfully keeping their mouth shut, pretending to be the wall of peace. After that they became state soldiers. This type of organization involved within itself emotions, idealism, voluntarily work, even activism, but also very pro-statist, typical patriarchal model of thinking and working.

On the other side, the new professional women's groups that appeared, focused on different women's issues, gave another image of feminism (not necessarily they want to be related to this name, in fact there is still a great deal of fear and disgust with it). They made women's issues a job, the organization - a working place. Total alienation from the personality. This was just one of the benefits of the "democratic society" to which all started to call on.

BETWEEN ILLUSION AND DELUSION

Women's groups in Macedonia are nothing more than the second hand of the patriarcha-capitalist system. Their definition of "empowerment" of women means total assimilation in system, the same one that creates wars, competition, sexism, oppression. The success of the patriarchy is not that it managed to subjugate woman, but to make her think and function as a "man". Woman is not represented by some non-scrupulous "strong" owner of a chain of shops, neither some politician who thinks that 50% women in power, or when she gets the parliament seat, will bring us the ultimate welfare, neither some police women who puts herself in some kind of film to look as frightening as possible, in fear that she wouldn't be taken "seriously". Those models and values do not change the patriarchal system, but reproduce it.

ANY FEMINISM?

You can probably find some in the academic feminism, in gender studies, but it all stays closely related to the theory, behind the classroom doors, in the books. Feminism and queer issue were the questions that neither wanted nor needed to be discussed among anarchists. Sexism and homophobia were latently present. Till recently. Of course they did not disappeared, but they are talked about. The number of people, anarchist activists here is not bigger then 15, and only few women. Still, our presence and our aggressive attitude, make feminism and queer be significant part of anarchist activism here. What we are also trying to organize is a women's group inside the anarchist movement and focus on specifically anarcha-feminist actions. We are still very isolated from other women. The very mainstream approach of women's organizations, even gay and lesbian organizations, and reasons that can be read before in the text, keep the distance from some cooperation, although we are considering them as an information source.

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING FOR SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

By Alex (AbolishingBB)

Сюрприз для тебя!
Работа за границей.
ОСТАНОВИМ ТОРГОВЛЮ ЖЕНЩИНАМИ

For the past two years, I have been meeting with many women, trafficked from different countries in Eastern Europe to Germany for the purpose of sexual exploitation. It has been an eye-opening experience to see that several myths and positions towards human trafficking are still very dominant, harmful and even playing in the hands of nation states and patriarchy.

Human trafficking is an old phenomenon, although today there are more complexities. Human trafficking is often just viewed in relation to prostitution and sexual exploitation. In reality it includes all forms of forced labour and servitude, as domestic labour, farming, begging, child adoption, selling of organs.... Even women are prevalent among trafficked people it also affects men and children as well.

Human trafficking cannot be understood without recognizing how capitalism, patriarchy, the concept of nation state, militarization and globalization are contributing to the increase in this

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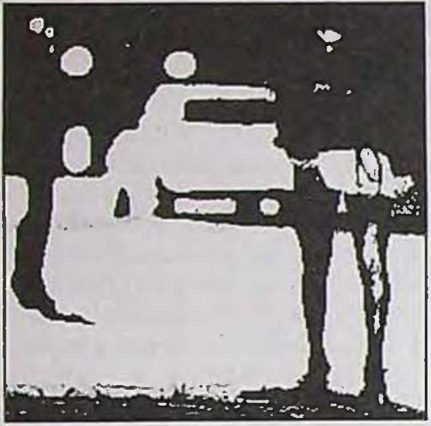
trade. Growing economic disparities between countries and regions provide the impulse for many to migrate from poorer to higher-income regions and countries. But while poverty and inequality are important factors in making certain populations more vulnerable to being trafficked, they are not the only cause of trafficking. Among the many elements to take into account, are also human desires to look for independence or opportunities, as well as the feminization of poverty accompanied by the feminization of survival strategies/responsibilities. Power imbalances and male dominance are pre-existing conditions that pave the way for human trafficking around the world.



The point of view that trafficked women are strong and risk-willing characters, who have made a rational choice and decided to migrate is just as inadequate as the 'victimization', which reduces the complex decision-making process of most women to one central motive and assumes that women have minimal competences.

Often it is argued that women, who are unable to use clandestine channels to go to another country, become potential victims of human trafficking. But even living under circumstances of poverty; lack of substantial livelihood/lack of employment opportunities; structural inequities in society; gender-based discrimination and violence or based on ethnicity; war/armed conflict, the majority of trafficked women I met in recent years, never tried to migrate on their own.

I only met one woman that got kidnapped in her home country. All other women where contacted directly by women of the 'second wave' - who have been working as prostitutes in foreign countries before and now returned to recruit new women. They where mainly offered work in the fields of: domestic labour and gastronomy. All women knew about the reality of human trafficking and where extremely careful in regard to advertisements from job / travelling / partner agencies. But the traffickers used private networks and friendships to recruit new women. In some regions large parts of the population is involved in trafficking in human beings, as traffickers or as victims. The trafficking with women is seen as a survival strategy through which whole families can make their living, based on a reactionary picture of women. An anti-feminine climate combined with the trafficking complexity insures the silence of the environment. After the compliance to migrate, the women experienced to different degrees physical and psychological abuse and threats to the trafficked person's family in the country of origin; controlled freedom of movement including being locked up or set under drugs; language barriers and disorientation; debt bondage; fear of public humiliation upon disclosure of the work that they performed, and possible further victimization, because of a conservative sex moral and gender roles in their home countries.

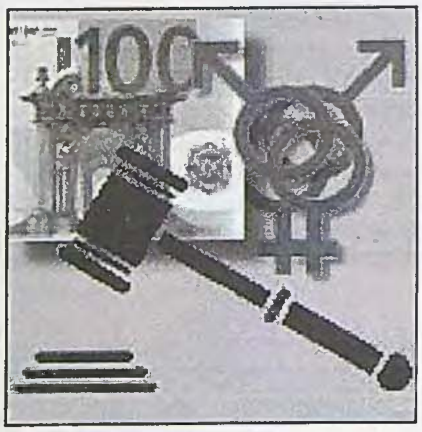
Different discourses in the women's and feminist movement had and still have a strong influence on the debate about human trafficking for sexual exploitation and the treatment of women.

Divergent attitudes towards prostitution and gendered assumptions drive much of the response to human trafficking for sexual exploitation.

- One orientation (Puritanism) distinguishes between forced and self dependent prostitution, while prostitution is seen as immoral. Today it is thought that prostitutes can never be free from pressure - for the forced prostitute this pressure is exercised by a pimp, for drug-related prostitution by the drug, for the hardship prostitution by the material emergency and for everybody else through an early abuse trauma.
- The second direction (containment) argues to control and order the necessary evil through state reglementation, like special areas and regular health checks.
- The last (abolition) tries to break the distinction between innocent victims and immoral prostitutes. Very often men are held responsible for prostitution and it's negated that any woman enters the prostitution out of her own impulse. By this all prostitutes become victims and women are viewed as sexual passive.

Theoretical forced prostitution needs to be clearly differentiated from the work of a prostitute. In reality this distinction is not always easy and the parting lines are crossing each other and can lead to misinterpretations.

Especially federations of prostitutes and several women's organizations exploit trafficked women, who had to work in prostitution, for their own purposes. this means the fight for the legalization of prostitution as normal service and the recognition as profession. So it is argued that if there is consent, there is no trafficking. But consensually entering the sex trade can start out non-exploitative and become a trafficking situation. Also it ignores a majority of trafficked women, who never knew before nor agreed to enter the sex trade.



Also 'demand' is a current key word among many anti-trafficking activists, in which they argue that demand for prostitutes drives trafficking in persons. This narrow focus represents again a dangerous glide into an anti-prostitution, anti-male mindset. Which is another way of undermining prostitutes' autonomy, to harden the hierarchy between men and women and leading the discussion away from the root causes of human trafficking. Also just appealing on the 'good will' of male clients to help human trafficking victims, will not lead any further. The women I met where trapped in forced prostitution over months, sometimes even years, serving many male clients a day. Desperate to escape their situation, they begged their clients to help them, who in the majority of cases ignored it or even took advantage out of it. For example one women escaping from the brothel and the traffickers, turned to a client for help, who promised to help her, but instead forced her to be his private sex slave for over a year in his house.

A political calculation by states is on the other side, to held trafficked women responsible for their often initial wish to migrate

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for work, sometimes even prostitution. By this they fall in the categories of illegalised migrants and unwanted persons, which lead today to a direct deportation. Or they are recognized as victims of trafficking, but one-dimensional from the side of the state, which makes them powerless and helpless victims without own identity who need saving, rescuing and protection. In this way states and international organizations like the IOM can become 'return traffickers' - in the worst case after they used the trafficked women for their own purposes as witness against the traffickers. Yet there are many reactive approaches with over-reactions based upon nationalism, which we need to be aware of. Perhaps the most infamous today is the United States 'Trafficking in Persons Report' covering the globe, of course with the exception of monitoring the United States and used essentially as political tool, for a marginalization of ideological opponents, imposement of sanctions, restriction of movement and ethnic profiling.

Although trafficked women have been victims, they have also made choices and feel responsible for their initial wish to migrate for work, even if they would not have tried to migrate on their own. Her own description of what she is doing often contrasts with the characterizations of outsiders, particularly the gendered emphasis on passivity, ignorance and force or autonomy. Even if we try to apply the ideals of free will and self-determination to our personal lives, we have to admit that most relationships in the area of prostitution and human trafficking are not based on the free choice and the consent of all individuals involved. One of the most important steps is to end the practice of ranking and privileging some victims over others, for example, the so-called "innocent" victims v. so-called "irresponsible" or "guilty" victims. It is also about recognizing some forms of trafficking while denying the harms done in other forms. Any action must first and foremost return control to the victims. We have to create the space for the trafficking victim to see her or himself again as a person, not an object, who we respect and value.

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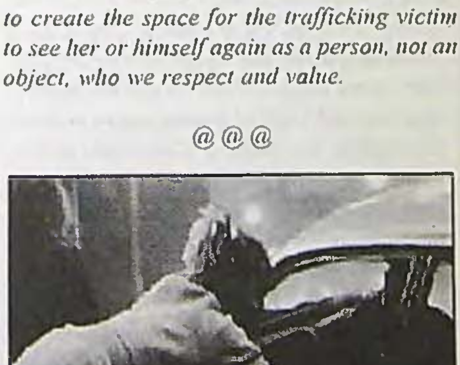

"I hope that the subconscious will to destroy the barriers of social conventions actually exists in people"

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

By Molly (Poznan - Poland)

It is ubiquitous that people in Poland grow up in catholic families. Catholic upbringing is the one that our parents vow to spread and maintain in our heads and make us ideal children of the Lord from Heavens. And I was one of those children too. Always told to go to church every Sunday to praise Lord. Why do I write about that? Because Roman-catholic religion is still the most responsible for sustaining patriarchy in Poland. For almost 50 years Polish society lived in communist system and theoretically it was a society of equality between sexes, but actually it didn't exist at homes. Women had always been the ones that sit at home, prepare meals for their hard-working husbands (as if they weren't hard-working), labour and take care of children. But it all has been shown in a very positive way, that it is their choice, they feel happy about that and that's what they're looking for in their lives.

But the situation is not so simple. Although women are the majority in Poland, they are treated as if they had fewer rights than men. All beacuse of the teaching of the Church. Vast majority of people is still dependent on it. Women are told to obey their husbands (because they earn money to sustain them), to be good mothers (that is to sit at home all the time, because only in that way they can have constant control over children), but also women magazines tell them to be the ones that always look beautiful, to show that they're weaker, that only men can help them.

Polish society has some traditional behaviors that most of the people deem to be just the signs of respect, but it very often shows the position of one sex over another. For example, letting women go through the door first - you can see it almost everywhere you go. It can be nice. But there is a "but". It's sometimes oppressive. Men do that to show women that they can take care of them - very often women say they like to feel safe next to their men. That builds the strong impression that women need to be taken care of. That they wouldn't gain anything in life without men. That those who are single (even if they choose to be single) are frustrated and "need a guy". Girls from a very early age start to read colourful magazines that say how to look good, how to make men crazy about them, how to find "the one". And all that is based on being dependent on men's power.

It is very hard to fight it back when mothers are telling us "to behave ourselves", not to swear, "Not behave like men" - which is how? To feel strong about what we believe in and make decisions? Strong women are beginning to take back the power to speak out their ideas and feelings. But often men or other women are afraid of them or treat them as if they were their enemies.

Not realizing that they have the right to speak their problems out, that they know better about their bodies than an army of male experts on women; that the decision about them is in THEIR hands. That they don't have to ask whether it's proper to say something or not.

In Poland, women rights have always been a matter of public life, I mean - the politics. The government, the parliament are of course (next to the Church) the most visible institutions of patriarchy, not because there are mostly men in it, but because of the authoritarian attitude towards society, taking decisions about ordinary life of people. And as an important matter of political game - women rights have always been infringed, including abortion, birth control. With a great help of the Church, we have been treated as those who have to suffer, be more responsible, when men don't have to. And that also creates a wall between the two sexes. They don't understand each other. Women have to be aware of the value of their "purity", men just come and fertilize them, not taking care of what kind of contraception method women are using, or leave them when they finally get pregnant. It's generalizing, I know, but that's how the patriarchy looks like in reality.

And this constatnt struggle: Church vs. society (struggle of brainwashing), state vs. society (struggle of showing what SHOULD be better for us), makes people attached more to those theories, than to their own lives. This way they create their small reality around what they have listened to, not around what is actually important. Men debating over abortion or birth control make the impression that they know best and other men believe them more than their partners - women who are confused too, because after intense brainwashing they believe that what is good for them, is what the priests or politicians say.

Look, issues about male's intimacy are almost never discussed in politics or in the Church, sometimes they sternly reprimand those who beat their wives... and it seems that women have the vision of great, statue-like fortresses that are hardly ever attainable and they should be afraid of. Because they know better, because they have more rights to decide.

The walls between us are only smaller when we are in a closer relationships, but they exists when we want to attain each other. But now it's my personal impression. I don't really know the complexity of relationships between people that are in different communities, of ultra-catholic families or pathologic ones. I don't know whether walls are higher and thikker there, probably, there's no conscious will to destroy this barrier of social conventions, playing or giving roles, but deep inside I hope that the subconscious will of that actually exists in people.

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Invisibility, isolation and powerlessness

Interview on problems lesbian-couples are facing living in Czech society

Patriarchy is a dominant reality in our world, so much that many people cannot imagine any other way of organizing human life. Gender and sexuality are major components of structured inequality and discrimination. Members of the devalued gender or sexual orientation have less power than those of the valued one. Lesbians, gay men, bisexual and transgender people all over the world suffer from persecution and violence simply for being who they are. The manner in which discrimination is experienced on grounds of sexuality can be differentely considerated. This interview shows the problems faced by lesbians that are confronted with rejection by family and friends, isolation and lack of support, which creates a very intense pressure. As a result the invisibility, isolation and powerlessness even support the promotion of the patriarchal small-family model in a new way, because alternatives are still lacking or not visible. AbolishingBB

ABB: In Nov05 the 6th Mezipatra (Czech gay and lesbian film festival) was organized on the issue of family relationships and gay and lesbian parenting, as well as the Apriles Festivals of female and lesbian culture in recent years. Do you think that there is a growing interest of the mainstream in gay, bisexual and transgendered people's issues and does it contribute to a debate on the continuing existence of xenophobia, discrimination and gender stereotypes?

Festivals, events and actions are organised and attended by a minority, the

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major society doesn't care about it. In society homosexuals are the second refused minority after the Roma (there is big statistical gap between first and second place, but xenophobia towards Roma is much bigger). Legal partnership is supported by 60 - 70% of society, but practically nobody knows what is in law and what it means for homosexuals. Most people understand it as something equal to marriage. People are uniformed - also because they don't care.

ABB: What is the 'legal' situation like in the Czech Republic?

Legal situation could be compare to "head in the sand". By law there are no homosexuals, they have no legislative rights for their partnership, but also there is no legislative discrimination. Registered partnership, after the new law, for the first time give some minimal, unimportant rights, but started official discrimination because it names what is not right for homosexual partners (but still it is not said). Gay and lesbian partners haven't right for adoption but they could have their own children and nobody could take their children away (and still no law does it). There are many talks about discrimination in workplaces, but I have no personal experience and I don't know anybody who has it (around 80 people). Personal way of life is different. We never met with open hatters or something similar (and we don't know somebody with this experience) and nobody asked us (what people talk at home about us it is not for us). Life of gay or lesbian partners in big cities doesn't differ too much from married heterosexuals. But at small cities and villages patriarchal traditions ruled much more and woman without man is in disadvantage (everybody could attack her, because she hasn't man who defends her as that's normal). But there is not much difference between widow, single woman and lesbian.

ABB: How is the Lesbian (Gay/Bisexual/Transgender) movement developing in the Czech Republic today? Have you noticed any changes so far and what are the strengths and weaknesses of Lesbians organizing in the Czech Republic today?

Gay and lesbian movement was very active and strong during the first ten years after the revolution. At this moment concretely lesbian movement stagnates, community is unorganised. Post-revolutionary activists became older and lived their lives and young wanted to enjoy and live their way, they don't care about common rights, everybody takes care of him/her-self.

ABB: We have discussed the outward obstacles to sexual freedom so let's shift the focus to inward struggles ... do existing groups seem to have their own brand of discrimination based on, among other things, class, race and sexuality? Do you have experienced differences between activists as an obstacle and problem for effective organizing?

There is a big difference between gay and lesbians. Men living without women are in a better situation with money and also generally (they are still privileged over women in society). Society has more prejudices against them than against.lesbians, but they don't suffer from it so much, they stay close to their minority, clubs and bars, there are many of them. Lesbians are discriminated as all other women without men. There are no lesbian clubs and bars, even web pages were closed (from financial reasons). In all minorities (I mean people with gay or lesbian sexual orientation, there is no organised minority) pure individualism rules, typical also for major society. Everybody tries to get as much money as possible and everybody hates gypsies and communists.

ABB: Please tell us something about the successes you had and the problems you had to face. Have you redefined your aims in any way? Are there any significant gaps that opened between your political work and the problems of everyday life? Do you receive any support by political groups and in what way?

We where able (me and my girlfriend) to found a family with two children without help of anybody (we have no support from our original families). But our political and other activities are null (in difference from past, when we were really active) for some reasons: 1. we have a lot to do to keep family exist "over the water"; 2. by our way of life we left all circles we lived, worked, be active before, our friends are white, heterosexuals, live in big city, have stable income, they have parents and other close people, or something like this ... we feel also refusedl from part of the left and autonomous political groups; 3. we recognised that we have to care about ourselves, because nobody could help us with it

ABB: The social, economic and political power is still firmly in the hands of the straight, the married, the white, the male. Lesbian mothers are losing custody of their children, are being fired, evicted, assaulted and discriminated against in subtler ways. How deeply does the continuing power of the forces of bigotry impact your personal and political decisions as it related to sexual freedom?

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A lesbian mother is in the same situation as a mother without partner. She needs money and a support bakkground, without it sh would have nothing. A lesbian mother who lives with her girlfriend in a stable partnership is in better situation than a single mother. If both of them (lesbian partners) have job, they are practically in the same situation as heterosexual partners (not married, they have more benefits from it). A lesbian mother could lose her child by law and there are other discriminations (but no more than a woman without man, widow, divorced, etc.) But discrimination of single mothers is strong - worse paid jobs, employers don't want to take her to job, give her free time to take care of children in the time of illness etc. Schools and kindergarteners are not prepared for an 8 hour job of mother. Practically is impossible for a woman with children to go through everything without help of other people (family) or extra money (rents, for example).

ABB: How do you oppose negative images or obstacles in your everyday life?

We try in the direction that everyday life isn't different from life of other families with the same small money, mostly we don't feel difference and try to solve the same problems, normal things. But often we saw and/or solve obstacles, for example: we had to buy a small house to have the same rights for place to live - in state or co-operative flat one is the owner and the second lives as somebody strange. If something would happen with the first one and mother of our common children, the second could become homeless and the children would go to the social house. But with our moving to a the more primitive society of the small city, we falled down from our privileged friends, who lived in their own flats in big city. We try not to feel so angry about bad legislation, but more from the not understanding and the absence of human support of our former friends, either privileged heterosexuals or lesbians living without children and stable partners.

ABB: In the summer of 2000, there appeared a postcard in cafés, on the street and in mailboxes of Bratislava spelling the following message for ordering of medicine: 'HOMOCILIN - Guaranteed to cure homosexuality'. It aimed to sarcastic parody the call for medical treatment of homosexuality advocated by the Minister of Health. In these times, does a 'coming out' appears to be of a problem for lesbians? Was it important for you, personally?

Coming out is a problematic and important thing in our period of life, when humans start to understand his/her difference and has to live with it. There are different solutions, they differ from family background, place, if somebody is raised to believe in God, etc. But this is only one short period. In the next life it hasn't played any important role. Somebody shows his/her difference on every step. Somebody never showing it, nobody takes it as important. For me personally is much more difficult to explain the meaning of work than situation of family or sexual orientation.

ABB: Considering how powerful these forces remain, what can people seeking social change do, to erode the barriers to freedom of sexual and gender-based oppression?

I (and we) think that nothing will and could change (in the capitalism). Everybody helps only him/herself and his/her family and friends, that's all. The only thing to do is, with personal example, to help to have a better perception of homosexuality. Lesbians could also have a child if they want, as we did. There are some important obstacles (Czech Republic does not allow insemination), but it is possible to overcome them, with the help (sperm-donation) of friends. More homosexual partners and children living there could mean that it will be more common thing and for different human could be easier and also it could bring more un-typical life in personal interrelations. For example, the homosexual schoolmate of my children will go through smaller trauma of self-understanding, because she/he will know also other way of life than heterosexuals. But that's all what is possible for now. But the most resolute factors for existence and life without discrimination in todays's society are: support by family / friends / community and social status. Between privileged homo, lesbian and hetero human there isn't a big difference, also as between homo, lesbian and hetero human living on the edge of society. This is one of the most important reality influencing life and existence of the lesbians which need to change.

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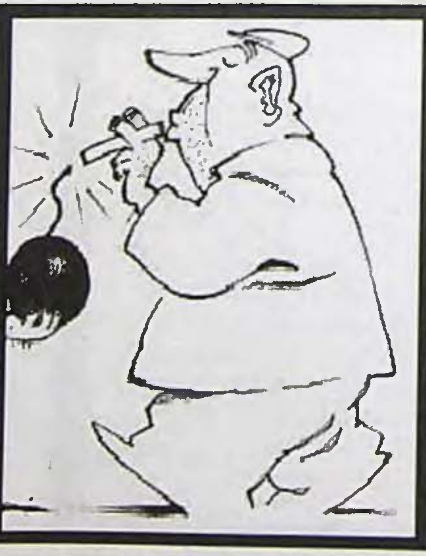
"GAY POWER"

Who has actually "bombed" whom in Warsaw on October 20, 2005 ?

By Zbyszek (Warsaw - Poland)



Since Poland backed the United States in the war in Iraq there has been nervous suspense in Polish society. People have been awaiting the first terrorist bomb attack in the 21st century. What is strange about the situation is that since the beginning of the war over 70% of the society has been against the Polish soldiers' participation in the fights in Iraq. Among the Polish politicians the proportion is just the opposite. Nevertheless the opinions'

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difference hasn't resulted in massive anti-war protests.

After attacks in Madrid and London the society seemed to have accepted the fact that, sooner or later, the punishment will reach Warsaw or some other big city in Poland. Something was in the air and the atmosphere was from time to time successfully warmed up by some frustrated boozers that after a fight with their wife wanted to piss her off and called the police to tell that they had just put a bomb in the tube. I should mention here that there is only one subway line in Warsaw. In spite of this the first bomb alarms efficiently paralyzed most of the city. Little wonder that later on there was already a kind of indurations among the inhabitants and emergency services, all the more that the Polish usually don't abstain from drinking alcohol and there are many reasons for quarrels to be easily found, too. In such simple cases the police used to catch the culprit after a few days or a month at the latest, irrespective of the fact if he/she used a public telephone booth or a prepaid card that he/she later used to eat up to remove the traces. This scheme of flounder testing of the emergency services would have probably still existed if it hadn't been for the events of 20th October.

In the morning, three days before the second and deciding turn of the presidential election, several "bomb" packages were put in a few places in Warsaw. The places weren't accidental- these were the main crossroads and communication centers. Thus, what was foreseeable, the city was paralyzed for a few hours, again. However, this time it didn't look like a joke of some drunkard. The packages were numbered from 1 till 13 and, what was underlined by the police experts, their outer appearance was identical with the real blockbusters' appearance. One hour after discovery of the first package somebody sent an e-mail letter to editor's offices of a few newspapers from some internet café. The letters contained the ideological background and the information that the packages were fakes. As a bonus the recipe (truthful) for home made bomb was attached to the e-mails. As if the authors were saying that they knew how to do it but this time they had only wanted to frighten the authorities. The ideological justification was to show how the repressed by the homophobic president Kaczynski and discriminated by the society gays feel every day in Warsaw. Their media representatives were the leaders of the ZIELONI 2004 party. The letter was signed: Gay Power.

Three days before the second turn of the election the event created for Lech Kaczynski, who was still on the second position in the public opinion poll, a perfect opportunity to show his favorite "sheriff" face. He canceled his election meeting in Krakow immediately and came back to the capitol within three hours. During the special press conference he assured, surrounded by the chiefs of Warsaw police, that the situation was under control and the culprits would be, sooner or later, caught. One of the journalists asked him if he suspected any radical gay groups to have stayed behind the action. Kaczynski answered that he appreciated the organization structure of the gay environment but still he treated the letter as a fake. Everybody could see the president of Warsaw in the role of God's hand, always in the right place and time. Next day it turned out that the video recording from the internet café was found where one could see a man sending the e-mail to the editor's offices. His face was hardly seen, covered with a cap and a hood.

On the 23rd October Lech Kaczynski became the president of Poland. In spite of the recording and the financial reward for help in finding the culprits' police still couldn't find any trace of them. What is more, over one month later the Warsaw police put on their official website the psychological sketch of the persons responsible for the action prepared by the police experts. It seemed that the would-be bombers were some young people interested in alter-globalism and anarchism. Short before the action they were to discover their different sexual orientation or to be brushed aside because of their political opinions. In short, the police treated the letter seriously, in spite of the fact that the representatives of the ZIELONI 2004 party and all gay organizations had denied having any connections with the action's authors. Clearly enough, it seemed that the experts had missed one little, however quite important, detail of the letter. The author of the e-mail used the word "Jew" a few times and every time it was written with a little letter. Such "spelling" is often used by the extreme right-wing groups. Nobody explored this aspect. Instead, the Polish tabloid "Fakt" (similar to German "Bild"), together with the Warsaw police, put posters with the bomber's face (the one from the café) and the psychological sketch in the means of the public transport. Easy to conclude, despite the 100 000 zlotys reward, so far nobody has been arrested due to this case.

One of the independent hypotheses suggests the involvement of someone from the secret service, which favored Kaczynski in the election. This could be proved by the high professionalism of the whole action. No traces could be found neither in the places where the packages were left nor in the internet and telephone billings, which the operators of the local and mobile telephony had to deliver to the police.

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FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

INFLUENCE OF PATRIARCHY ON DIFFERENT AREAS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN POLAND

By Laure (Warsaw - Poland)

The question of the patriarchy is so wide that the idea of some small article on any of its aspects is quite daunting, yet the editorial collective of ABB sent a list of questions to writers and correspondents which are well worth considering. A few cursory comments follow.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF THE PATRIARCHAL TRADITION

Without a doubt, religion is currently its main instrument. Politicians and religious public figures (like Father Rydzyk of Radio Maria) sanctify issues of morality, especially related to women's reproductive systems and her role as mother. Some sort of patriarchal social consensus was created and is now fortified by the right-wing government who has launched an attack of reproductive rights. With nothing to outlaw on the abortion front, the government has taken to attacking other aspects of reproduction. After appointing quack ministers, we find the opinions that birth control pills should not be subsidized by the national health scheme and in vitro fertilization is the work of the devil. (Of course this improves fertility rates, but since lesbians might use this option, it's a sin.) In recent days, a new candidate for a women's minister, a famous female doctor and Catholic even went so far as to claim that it's "medically proven" that if you take birth control pills, you can become infertile and never have children, even after you stop taking them. So besides Catholicism, there is the work of the state which ensures that people do not get reliable information about issues such as birth control but instead get a healthy dose of religion.

This is just one aspect but it is the basis and finds its reflection in other areas of social life.

ANARCHISTS AND THE PATRIARCHAL SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Considering the weight of this issue and the influence it has on social life, anarchists have not paid nearly enough attention to it. That said, we cannot say it is ignored, but that rather only a small group of people see it as an "everyday issue"; in a wider context it generally becomes an issue when things happen around it or when an outside fashion on a certain topic springs up.

For example, during recent events when there was a repression of a gay and lesbian march, anarchists from all over Poland made a very active response. This would include people who otherwise do not deal with such issues.

A more important question is whether anarchists manage to consistently support anti-patriarchal issues and to what extent do people give lip service to them - in other words, do they ever say, sure they aren't sexists or homophobes, but act that way in practice anyway? Then the question is how to get past this barrier.

The anarchist movement is not consistent on these issues here. The old-timers are unfortunately influenced by right-wingers and conservatives who for years have waged an information war against "political correctness" under some pretence of fighting against fascistic feminist tendencies. The movement is not consistent because they give de-facto credence to this and make no pressure whatsoever on the movement to reform.

A case in point would be what happened when a few years ago the anarchist press had a small fashion on feminist articles. One magazine, which insists on publishing at least one right-wing author in every issue as a columnist wanted to make an issue on "feminism". But any publication which is 100% feminist would be accused of "not showing the other side" of the issue, so when a woman wrote about Christianity being the enemy of women, of course it had to include a male conservative authority for "balance' (read correction) to write strange mythologies about feminism in Catholicism. The next issue of the magazine, appropriately, had to be dedicated to religion, lest it be stigmatized forever for having "chosen" the feminist side of the debate. This was

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not discussed in Poland, but is typical of one of the problems we face - that people are sitting on fences, afraid to alienate the Catholics and the sexists, so in some quarters, for each overture made to women or to feminism, something has to be given to the other side.

Also, in discussion about feminism, men sometimes take the leading role, having much more to say. Not that I want to say that they have no moral right, but given the background of authoritarianism and mobbing that is common on this scene, it is extremely hard for women to say anything critically and be heard. For example, some women protested a year or two ago about men using certain words for women (like chick or something) when referring to women activists on an e-mail list, but the response was a bunch of hyper pseudo-intellectual men complaining about political correctness. The problem about this is that essentially some people do not value women's opinions, so the fact that a bunch of women were upset by this language meant nothing; the only thing that would have changed their opinion is if a man with some degree of authority whose approval they are afraid to lose had said something in support. The women are in the position then that until the male authorities "approve" what they are saying, it's without any worth to some men.

In such a position, some women even give up on the anarchist movement completely. Luckily not all leave it for the men.

PATRIARCHY IN OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Another question posed to us was how the anarchist movement deals with conservatism and patriarchy in other movements we might cooperate with.

An example of this might be the large protests in Warsaw in 2004 when some people announced they'd like to make a pink bloc and some of the organizers didn't want it because it might "alienate the workers". In the end, this attitude was overcome, but it is typical of the question.

Unfortunately, some anarchists now act as a revolutionary vanguard, going out and reaching external groups which should be their revolutionary agent instead of themselves. (They prefer to thing of this as getting out of their ghetto.) So it's very popular to try to get influence amongst "the workers" - who are never people like us, but usually unionized factory workers. For some people, part of this strategy of getting influence is never presenting anything that might be objectionable to them, although it is true that often people do present more radical ideas and try to talk people out of things like sexism and homophobia. But as a movement, this issue is not addressed, so the approach is individual and largely depends on who is talking to whom. Some people do not care about these issues or give passive permission to them, so such people really don't care.

We see that while some people who are involved in, for example workers' rights, also took part in actions in solidarity with the repressed Equality March, others obsess on the topic. For example, some anarcho-syndicalist "comrades" (sic) continue to harass people from FA Praga that we went to the demo in Warsaw where the organizers have ties to the left and leftist shithead politicians were speaking. The fact that we always go critically to such events, trying to speak to open-minded people and even spoke from the podium AGAINST the hypocrisy of those politicians cannot forgive our sin. Yet the same people go on marches with authoritarian leftists in defence of workers' rights; it's OK to break sectarian principles for that. It makes you wonder why some people only speak against, for example cooperation with leftists when it relates to gay issues; we suspect it is an excuse and a cover up for homophobia.

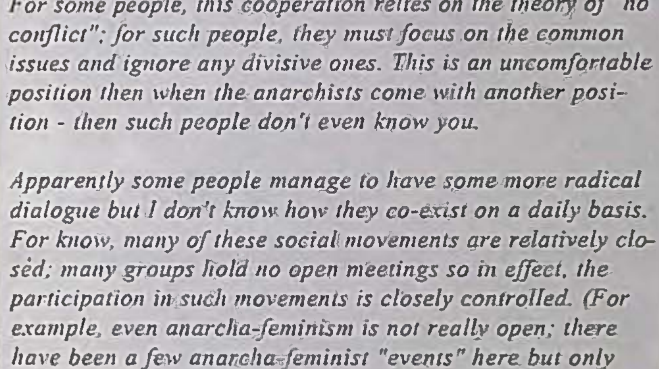
So there is no real talk of dealing with these movements's homophobia or sexism if we haven't dealt with our own first.

PERSPECTIVE OF CONNECTING SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY (ANARCHIST) CONCEPTS WITH RADICAL ANTI-PATRIARCHAL BUT SOCIALLY CONSERVATIVE / REFORMIST MOVEMENTS

Like the experience of radicals entering into social movements where patriarchal attitudes may exist (like the workers' movement), this perspective now depends a lot on individual theory.

For some people, this cooperation relies on the theory of "no conflict"; for such people, they must focus on the common issues and ignore any divisive ones. This is an uncomfortable position then when the anarchists come with another position - then such people don't even know you.

Apparently some people manage to have some more radical dialogue but I don't know how they co-exist on a daily basis. For know, many of these social movements are relatively closed; many groups hold no open meetings so in effect, the participation in such movements is closely controlled. (For example, even anarcha-feminism is not really open; there have been a few anarcha-feminist "events" here but only once in the last 5-6 anything like an open meeting, there is no open mailing list, etc.) With participation controlled in such a way, and with social activism not very popular in general, the develop of such movements tend to go in the direction their founders want. For example, the largest and most influential gay groups moved in the direction of political lobbying and participation, cooperation with the police, etc. (This is more so the case locally in the capital because all the politicians are centered here.) There is no possibility to go to the meetings of these groups and discuss other options because they are leader-based and not open; the best we can



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do is go to things like demos and see if there are other people. Some people of course would think that it's better to find common ground, but we think it's best to wait for the development of a slightly more radical politics and then find common ground. We saw that at the last demo in support of the Equality Parade, people listened to our criticism from the podium and even many applauded and agreed. It's as if they were waiting to hear that and maybe are even waiting for some other type of movement to appear. But maybe they are waiting for some "leadership" - for somebody to start this movement up. Only it's not gonna be us to do it because as it is, we already are testing the limits and dangerously on the edge of vanguardism with our actions.

I'm optimistic that some other movement will appear soon and that anarchists are going to find a more comfortable place in it.

THE SILENCE TOWARDS PROSTITUTION

Finally this question of how to explain it. I think this is the easiest question to understand; prostitution has a certain stigma and many people tend to avoid it. Sometimes, women who are prostitutes don't say anything out of fear or tabu. We read about one woman in the last issue of ABB; I was literally moved to tears by the story and realized what a breakthrough on the silence it was for that woman.

Even mainstream feminists are far ahead in this area. Maybe it got stigmatized also as a "women's issue" or something marginal. Some people who see things in this way think that it is a special interest that has nothing in common with general society. One theory may also be a deep-rooted disapproval - something like indifference since any woman who's in this situation must deserve it. As to why the big silence, I honestly cannot what really causes it. It is something of a mystery.

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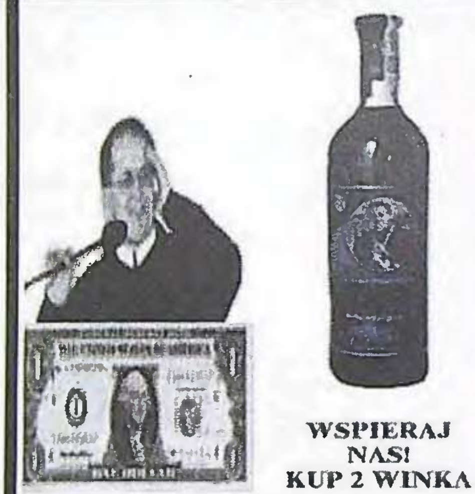
C ATHOLICISM
+ PATRIARCHY
+ HOMOPHOBIA
= "RADIO MARYJA" !

By Michu (Torun - Poland)



As an occupant of Torun, writing these several sentences on the subject of patriarchy and its sources in reference to the local environment, I could not concentrate on anything different, as on the subject of the Catholic broadcasting station "Radio Maria".

Torun this passed 200 thousandth city that is well-known from two things; University and the radio mentioned earlier. The creator of Radio Maria is a priest named Tadeusz Rydzyk, by order of the Redemptory. From the early beginning of its activity, that is since 14 years, on the aerial of the radio, statements about its anti-Semitic and chauvinistic character held first place.

Taking into attention the masses of men who listen to the Radio, persons who usually in Poland consist of all ages, we can say that it has a very large influence on the formation of social attitudes.

The broadcasting station lead in a very obstinate way the campaigns against abortion, which in large degree contributed to the resolution that in Poland there is a very rigorous right anti-abortion attitude. The manager of broadcasting station that was mentioned earlier father Tadeusz Rydzyk had a process for offending the Members of Parliament of RP. The accusation concerned persuasions to infringement of inviolability of the lower house of parliament Members of Parliament who voted for abortion. Father Rydzyk on air proposed "to shave bald the heads of' Members of Parliament who voted for abortion as was done during the war with Polish women who lived together with the Hitlerites". There were many very controversial pronouncements on air of radio, we can quote many plots here. According to the radio, all failures that happen to the Polish nation are the result of activity of freemasonry, Jewish nation, communism and European Union.

The obstinate Catholicism with anti-Semitism and the traditional vision of healthy Polish family is often attractive for the politicians from the right of the political scene. Thanks to support from Radio Maria a radical party League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin), which promote a policy of traditional vision of Polish family and society without homose-

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xuals' and no other different "eccentricities", succeeded in their first parliamentary general election. The new President, became famous already at time when he was the president of Warsaw thanks to the prohibition of the "March of equality", organized by homosexual activists. The size of his success is in considerable measure reached thanks to support through Radio Maria.

It is worth noting that one can practically listen to Radio Maria on every continent. At present a new law about Radio and Television in Poland will permit Radio Maria much easier obtainment of a lifelong license to transmit. However Tadeusz Rydzyk's ambitions are much larger. The people of Radio Maria publish a newspaper "Our Daily" ("Nasz Dziennik") in a huge print-run and, for some time now, the owners of satellite television can receive a new father Tadeusz television "I subsist" ("Trwam"), and the students studying at University Nicolaus Copernicus in Torun can also study "The Higher School of Social Culture and of Media", which educate future journalists which we expect will be the continuators of the father's Manager's work.

The patriarchal and traditional vision of the family always was strongly rooted in the consciousness of the Polish nation and feminist activists are usually associated with noisy girls in torn tights. Any symptom of feminist activity is usually accepted with a wink of the eye and last anti-homophobic actions in Torun was very often commented with "a smile" and a note of irony. The media however, if did not speak ironically, then in a sensational way, announcing relationships of confrontation between the enemies and followers of homosexual liberation.

Without a doubt, the Catholic church, which has very strong position in Poland, contributed to such a state of thing. The majority of society was and is gazing so intently at the "Polish pope" (papieza Polaka), that they do not want even to hear about something like, for example, homosexual relationships.

In spite of the fact that Radio Maria is doing quite well, sometimes it happens that the Radio receives considerable social criticism. According to me the majority of the, mainly local, media has had a negative attitude about the radio station. Social protests which had taken place during delivery for free 54 h of soils belonging to city for Radio Maria also testifies to the fact that society notices for sure these matters. It seems me however that public opinion is more critical, not for the Radio for propagating patriarchy, homophobia, traditional vision of Polish family etc., but much more it is critical of the manager of the radio, the priest, who is connected with financial embezzlements.

Local anarchist activists have several times organized actions against Radio Maria. It seems to me that if we want to fight these prejudices against homosexuals, and the vision within the traditional Polish family where woman always knows that her place is in the kitchen, will necessarily take long-lasting work is this matter and a long-lasting process in informing society.

For now Radio Maria is the most powerful mediumistic organization, despite the earlier mentioned criticism. Creating in the face of it a counterweight can be difficult and long-lasting - but not impossible. I think that the activists criticizing the ideas propagated through the radio seem to be more active lately. It may be a good forecast for the future.

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RZESZOW kocha
RADIO MARYJA
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Thoughts on Moscow Pride

By S2W

"Moscow Pride '06 - First Russian International Gay & Lesbian Festival" is planned to take place from 24th to 28th of May 2006. Program planned this far includes day of Scandinavian homoculture with seminars and exhibitions, conference on Oscar Wilde (with participation of his granddaughter), first international conference on International Day Against Homophobia, cultural program and what has raised most public controversy - 1st LGBT Moscow Pride parade, to happen 27th of May which is 13th anniversary of excluding criminal proceedings for homosexuality from Russian criminal codex.

Festival was initiated in May of 2005 by project gayrussia.ru, first of all by its founder, jurist and author Nikolai Alekseev. He is author of first Russian book on legal aspects of homosexuality, but basically comes from outside established gay NGO and business elite - which is one of the reasons why announcement on organization of Moscow pride has aroused much controversy not only in the mainstream, but also inside gay and lesbian community itself.

OUTRAGE

As for the mainstream and national radical fringe (which are sometimes hard to separate), as early as 13th of October a demonstration of a coalition of left and right fascists inclu-

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ding NBP and Eurasian Union of Youth in Krasnodar against Moscow pride was dispersed by police, it was declared illegal for formal reasons by regional authorities. Motivations of this ban are unclear, but Krasnodar area is not famous for its tolerance of oppositional activities. There have been too many mainstream politicians and church authorities to appeal against gay parade to list them here - (lifelong?) Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov already 2001 declared, that such event "will never take place in Moscow". Recently an "apolitical" Live Journal community was set up to combat festival.

As for LGBT (Lesbo, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) community, website www.gayclub.ru published an appeal "Please do not give up to provocation", in which Alekseev was accused of adventurism, and of compromising both security of participators of the event and "peaceful development of democracy and tolerance in Russia". Appeal was subscribed by eight leaders and administrators of some of the most prominent LGBT media in Russia. Having reconsidered her opinion, redactor of leading Lesbian portal lesbiru.com "VolgaVolga" eventually announced withdrawal of her signature from the petition, and her support for Moscow Pride '06.

Due to scale of the moral panic, LGBT issues have gained more publicity than for years. Since social issues have become main lectionary tool for patriotic left and right, it is no way they may attack such usual scapegoats as people dependent on income transfers or workers' organizations. Instead, it must appeal to "conservative" mood of the masses - against illegal immigrants and sexual orientations not considered as a norm. Meanwhile, various rights of individual human beings have become concern of liberal intelligentsia of the big cities exclusively, political representatives of which have no any concern whatsoever about well-being of vast majority of the people.

PROGRESS TAKES IT ALL

We may not put down concerns of the "moderate queer establishment" altogether - nobody wants to have a brick to ones forehead. Obviously, it is also not up for libertarian communists to declare how homosexuals should organize their struggle - as sexual and political orientation correlate a little, there are probably no more homosexuals among anarchists than among liberals, fascists or Russian Orthodox Church. But judging from the declarations in various queer sites, "queer self-organization" as it exists now seems hardly a much more appealing idea.

It is a bitter struggle going on about right to "represent" LGBT community, and although Alekseev's venture seems to be a bit less of a grant eating/business venture than "gay.ru" and Kvir (queer) magazine of gay business mogul Ed Mishin, politically GayRussia.ru it is hardly more close to anti-authoritarian ideas than to projects of Mishin, who is a vocal opponent of Moscow Pride.

Article "Gay Pride march in Moscow will go under watchful eye of the international community" is a sort of eye-opener on positions of gayrussia.ru. Here G8 chairmanship of Russia is understood as the final triumph of progress and democracy in this backward barbarian land. When only last corner of the world is integrated to the capitalist megamachine, we will be living in a paradise where anybody may consume products according to their sexual orientation, establish a business selling escort services or Lesbian horoscopes and make it to the big league.

In the so-called Western world, capitalist values are so widely established that you hardly have to worry about extreme materialistic aspects of the gay mainstream, since the poison is all around the rest of the society as well.
As gay and lesbian parades raise little opposition there, anti-authoritarians often ignore them altogether or to organize their own alternative anti-capitalist queer events. But in Russia, it is all too clear that this is exactly where national-patriotic forces are directing their attack, and there are all too few people fighting back for us to desert this struggle.

POWER IN THE DARKNESS

For me, anarchism means intervention to social struggles, not comfortable isolation from which you may judge everyone not fitting your narrow principles. We are not pure idealists; movements do not born out from abstract ideas, but in a framework of certain objective conditions. Instead of a condemnation, we should make an analysis of the problem and attempt to change the situation. As it was middle and upper class homosexuals who first struggled themselves emancipation in Russia, it is no surprise that currently existing LGBT movement reflects capitalistic values of these classes. As far as private life goes, with money you may have any rights whatsoever in Russia (even those nobody should have), and you may only end up to problems if your ambitions go beyond private - this is what happened to Hodorkovsky.

So it is a moment of truth for the anarchist movement in Russia, since this far, besides few exceptions, its contribution to struggle against homophobia has been nothing more than few declarations and articles. Immediately when it is time to take a real stance, twisting of hands begins - we hear about "priorities" and "bourgeois gay mafia" hijacking ballet and other fields of entertainment business. But as we dig deeper, we find out that argument for passivity is nothing but fear - that for support to gay emancipation imprisoned anarchists will be demoted to lowest cast of the prison hierarchy, that of "roosters" - passive homosexuals.

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It also must be said that one openly bisexual and anarchist declared, that he wants to have nothing to do with this "bourgeois event" - so big are the divisions. But whatever the disagreements we have, organizers who have already landed to the epicentre of the scandal must be given a due respect. And as for fear of the counter-demonstration, I believe sceptics have made wrong conclusions from the first negative experiences from Latvia and Poland - as it only becomes clear that queers are not afraid to make it to the streets, in few years counter-demonstrations will just fade away because opponents will understand that currently they have no means to interfere peoples' private lives anyway. First pride will always be the most difficult one.

PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION

Fortunately there are also some voices of reason even amongst the visible people of the LGBT community - Alekseev claims he does not want to set up any new organization, but instead to run single projects without major fundraising. Known lesbian activist "VolgaVolga" attacks against grant-eating and talks openly on many other aspects of ugly power struggle inside the movement in her article "Abroad will help us, or please help homeless lesbian children of lieutenant Schmidt" published in lesbicom.ru. But still, instead of revolutionary movement lead by nobody, "VolgaVolga" proposes us a boredom of "an organized movement with united program, strategy and democratic principles of governance" where "no power nor money comes without responsibility", in spirit of Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

It is no doubt, that a movement with interests common enough may well profit from a formal organization (and just as often such an organization may become a hindrance). But gay boss may never have a common material interest with a gay worker, and by uncritical rallying for market liberal values gay NGO jet-set is pissing on vast majority of Russian homosexuals, who are living in a closet in some distant Ust-Ryupinsk, and for whom immediate survival is just as important as sexual liberties.

Of course, to some extent same controversy of interest exists between heterosexual and queer wage slaves. And while unlike bosses, heterosexual workers do not get any immediate benefit from exploiting homosexual workers, we must be very beware of falling to any trap of priorities - every human being has his individual aspirations and demands, thus none of them may be a priori considered as having priority over the rest. For one queer worker, her/his sexual rights are much more actual question than wage slavery, for another it is vice versa, third does not want to make a choice between these and for fourth main thing is something completely different. Representation is harmful and dangerous especially because it makes these differences obscure, and in case of one issue organizations, creates a mediating structure that adopts all other ills of this overall sick society. Such organizations are reaching for acceptance by abolishing everything that is so valuable in uncompromising oppositional stance - they create "respectful image", "raise funds from business", talk in language of laws and power and shamelessly call state to suppress their political opponents.

As it is getting more and more obvious that environment may not sustain capitalist wreckage forever, system has to continuously rejustify its existence. Recuperation is the process by which "radical" ideas and images are commodified and incorporated within mainstream society - eventually this only makes system more stronger. Recuperation has become lifeline of the capitalism - this is why Condoleezza Rice was shedding crocodile tears for suffering of women in Afghanistan. We do not want to put down plight of women or queers in countries ruled by religious fundamentalism, but concern of Western liberal politicians is pretty hypocritical given their eagerness to bomb these same people whenever it is benefical and opportunity arises. Rights of national, racial and sexual minorities are becoming corner-stones of the capitalist system, which justify waging war all around the planet. No pioneer of these rights could have ever expected such a travesty!

According to anti-politics.net website, "anti-politics is a revolutionary practice that eschews the political role of the activist, militant or leftist. This means not attempting to represent others or claim a constituency. It means struggling in the tension between the consciously revolutionary and the dispossessed in general in order to overcome it, instead of reinforcing that separation. It means the struggle to steal back the power that we have been dispossessed of, our power to create our lives, instead of politically petitioning the state to act in our name."

And I say, we do not need better leaders for LGBT movement, no anarchists infiltrating and taking over this movement, nor an anti-authoritarian queer ghetto in spirit of Berlin or Stockholm which would be even more marginalized than either LGBT or anarchist movement is in Russia. I think we need a truly anti-political queer movement that rejects all representation and recuperation and is able to question any categorizations of sex, sexual and political orientation whatsoever.

Registration form for Moscow Pride '06
http://gayrussia.ru/en/onketa.php

Gay Pride march in Moscow will go under watchful eye of the international community
http://gayrussia.ru/en/actions/detail.php?ID=3254

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FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

"Gay pride in Tallinn is incomparable to Riga parade"

INTERVIEW WITH JURIS LAVRIKOVS FROM ILGA-EUROPE ABOUT THE SECOND GAY PARADE IN THE ESTONIAN CAPITAL

This material needs an extra introduction. It already happened few times before, that we decided to put inside our newspaper an article coming out from a not anarchist perspective, because we considered it worthy out of different reasons. This interview is fitting into this category: it is, in fact, analysed from a very lefty-liberal point of view. We discussed among us wheter to publish it or not, but finally we recognized quite few important reasons to reprint this article: as first, is fitting definetely into the topic of the current ABB issue; it is reporting from a region quite less covered with any news even by ABB, so it would have been almost impossible to get an anarchist report on this happening; not as last, it is also addressing the attention to the next gay pride parade, which is going to take place in Moscow in May 2006, and even (in its last part) includes some indirect indications towards the upcoming G8-summit in St.Petersburg.

We feel to stress anyway, that as collective we DO have some problems with some of the contents of the interwiew, such as an enthusiasm to the wave of national flags on the march or to the definition of the latter as unpolitical, to quite uncritical views on the decission-tactics of political class or on western democracy standarts in general.

Finally, as always, we invite to read this piece - as well as everything in general - with your own intelligence, taking out of it the good infos which it brings.

AbolishingBB

Interview with Juris Lavrikovs from ILGA-Europe who went to Tallinn and took part in the second gay parade in the Estonian capital. After a long and interesting interview that we did with him right after the first gay pride in Riga, the capital of his native country, we wanted to feel the difference between the two events in the capitals so close to each other, both located in the Baltics region, both being former republics of the Soviet Union. We also asked Juris about the gay pride being planned for the first time in the Russian and former Soviet capital Moscow. What is for sure is that capitals of the former Soviet republics and now independent states were much in adavnce of Moscow on the issue of gay emancipation. Moscow has to follow suit in May 2006 if it really follows human rights and respects democratic freedoms.

G.R.: How was the Tallinn pride ? How many people took part ? We heard there was a huge rain during the march?

J.L.: Unfortunately it was very heavily raining and we were sitting in a bar a few hours before the marche talking. About half an hour before the marche we were thinking whether there will be 100 people but at the end of the marche I spoke to the organizers and they told me that they counted 400 people. It was quite impressive anyway. If the weather was better there would have been probably more people than on the first pride last year (Note : 600 people).

G.R.: You visited both prides in Riga and Tallinn, how can you compare them?

J.L.: Well it's really incomparable. The situations in the countries are very different and the built up for the event was also very different. We spoke already before what was happening in Riga 2 weeks before the pride with the anti-gay campaign. There was nothing similar in Estonia. Just a week before the pride here I was following the news on Estonia and there were two statements by conservative Fatherland union and Christian democrats, which are not really special force but represent just a few seats in the parliament. It was expected to have such statement from them because they follow very conservative values which do not approve gays. Comparing the statements, they were much softer than those who came out in Latvia. It was like a duty for these parties to say something negative that they condemn the idea of the pride. It was nothing to do with Latvian statements.

G.R.: Are Estonians more tolerant towards gays or are politicians more clever?

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J.L.: Yes that's a very interesting question. We had a discussion with many different people from Belgium and Netherlands. Everyone was trying to find out what's happening in the Baltic countries and especially who are the most tolerant. I don't think that Estonians are more tolerant although I spoke to one of the organizers last night and he said there was a poll ordered on the general attitude: 38% condemned and the rest do not care or understand this event. This is not a bad situation but you know there are always problems with opinion polls because if you really want to see what people think you have to make the same poll with the same questions for many years and sometimes questions depending how you word them can give you different results. In 1999, we conducted a poll on attitude of Latvians to partnership rights and we got a fantastic result of 53% supporting same sex partnership rights.

I think what's happening in Estonia is the influence of the Nordic countries cultures and the desire of the Estonian political elite to be totally oriented to western liberal values. I think it has a fantastic positive influence on the public opinion in a way people express their views. What's happening in Latvia, all the values of Europe democracy don't mean anything to them. They have their own agenda doing totally homophobic things which can gain them votes. In Estonia they realized very quickly that homophobia is not the best edge to play. There was nothing in the media compared to Latvia. I don't think overall they are more tolerant. The politicians are much more clever and clearer what they want to build in this country.

G.R.: Were mostly Estonian or also many foreigners during the pride?

J.L.: It was a very good mixture of people with quite a lot of Estonians. There was a very big Latvian delegation. A few people from Finland, Sweden, Belgium and Netherlands. It was quite an international crowd but Estonians were definitely the majority.

There is very interesting feature about Estonia and gay movement. The majority of people were women. I always consider Estonia as a unique country because the first organization in the Soviet Union in a Baltic state to be officially registered was Estonian gay and lesbian union and they were the strongest lesbian network in all Eastern Europe. Everything is done by women. I just really admire them. It's phenomenal.

G.R.: You said there was a big Latvian delegation during the pride, was there more than in Riga?

J.L.: (laughing) No. I would not say that. I counted at least 25 or so people from Latvia. Some of the people were from the Riga parade but some were not. It was easier for them to come out here. It's a different country where they feel more secure.

G.R.: Were they any particular slogans during the march?

J.L.: No. That's another interesting issue. Basically there is no political message. It's just very commercial and very fun oriented. It was very colourful with people having lots of balloons, Rainbow flags, National flags of the country. There were also drag queens. It was very different but there was no political message. Estonians in general are more interested in social events and in entertainment. I don't remember anyone working on lobbying or legislative proposals. I am not sure why. Now there are some groups appearing which want to fight for civil rights because before LGBT movement was mostly Estonia oriented. Now they want to take more part in the Baltic LGBT network. Riga was a very big political action. March in Tallinn was fun, lots of shootings. It was very celebratory.

G.R.: Were there quite big media presence during the pride?

J.L.: It was not as big as during the Latvian pride. They were a few people but I did not see so many cameras or journalists with microphones running like in Riga. Definitely less. There were a few people. I talked to the TV from Lithuania. They are so much behind that they are trying to find out what is happening in other countries. I also met a journalist from South Korea who spoke all 3 Baltic languages which is quite amazing. Of course I asked the organizers about the media coverage and they said it was very neutral. The media won't give much negative or positive. I think it's the difference: they learnt what's appropriate and what's not appropriate. I don't think they reached the level of the most tolerant European countries. But at least politicians here do not say homophobic things like in Latvia. They acknowledge there was an issue. They are showing that they are ready to talk about it and they are not a priori condemning like politician in Latvia.

G.R.: Gay pride is now very close to the Russian boarders, what is next, Moscow?

J.L.: You should continue to pressure the politicians. I don't see why it can't really happen in Moscow. In Moscow I presume the issue of security will be the biggest one. I would love to come there for the pride. I would do all my best to come there to try to make it possible. I think it will be very interesting experience although we saw what happened in Latvia. It's not because the country is so underdeveloped. It's a significant political phenomenon. In Russia, it's a country which never works according to stereotypes or basic patterns. It's full of surprises so I don't think anybody know what to expect. It's interesting but adventurous at the same time.

G.R.: Thank you, Juris, for this interesting interview and for your time. We look forward to see you in Moscow in May 2006. (GayRussia.Ru, interview organised and conducted by Nikolai Alekseev)

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FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

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SEXISM IS NOT A PROBLEM OF WOMEN

By Maja (Ljubljana - Slovenia)

First of all I have to say I'm very glad that ABB has chosen this topic as I think that patriarchy, prostitution, sexism, animal rights, ecological problems etc., are too little discussed in anarchist debates. I would like to write a few words about sexist advertising, prostitution and pornography, because these are the things I have to argue with people a lot of times about. But I will start from the beginning and try to give you a picture of the situation here in Slovenia first.

SELLING WOMAN'S BODY THROUGH TELEVISION

Reading and talking with people about East European countries tells me that Slovenia is something like a bridge between east and west. Because it's kind of a transit country, people are used to except new ideas, but still need lots of time. Dealing with sexism, situation is not far from "point zero". Even if most of the population would say women are treated the same as men, it's far from that. Lots of advertisements are showing woman's breasts, every singer who wants to succeed has to perform half naked... And investigations show that companies that use sexist advertisements sell far more products than the others. I was doing a short school research about sexism in media. I found out that there is a law that prohibits showing a person in a humiliating way, but it doesn't specify what that means. In Sweden, for example, that kind of law is clearer and there are much less sexist advertisements. In Slovenia, the situation is getting worse every day - the advertisements are becoming "short porno-movies" and when some consumers put charges to the court, the advertisement's "boom" is already over when the court declares that certain advertisement has to be moved away or changed. Well, the fact is that people (mostly men, but also women) don't understand why I am so much against it. In short, I would say that I fell offended because as a woman I am treated as a sexual object and nothing more.

SEX SLAVERY

Prostitution in Slovenia is more hidden, because the prostitutes never show themselves on the streets, but there are many bars (lots of them high-class) where women dance, make performances and behind the stage - sell their bodies. They are all owned by procurers (sex-dealers) and usually come from poorer countries of East Europe (Ukraine, Romania, Russia...) or from ex-Yugoslavia. Probably society accept prostitution because it doesn't (want to) see it. It makes me very angry when people say: "It's their choice, they must like it." I don't believe that either 1% of them likes this work, even if she freely decided to do it, is well-paid and can choose the costumer... but that's also not true. It happened lots of times that a woman was out of money and decided to be a prostitute. She was immediately forced by a procurer to work for him or to quit. As I already mentioned prostitution is hidden very well: I was horrified by hearing that lots of businessmen who come to Slovenia on their official journey are taken by their business partners to "have fun with young girls". It's a common thing in business world. Few months ago there was a big affair when a Ukrainian prostitute died in Slovenian hospital after she was selling herself to young boys on birthday parties, to bar costumers etc. A big panic followed, because she had so many diseases and none of her costumers was informed about it. Many men and boys who "bought her" went to test themselves. Behind that was a story of a beautiful young girl who was forced into prostitution by procurers who were selling her to satisfy politicians, rich men, policemen... all over ex-Yugoslavian countries. After she got her first disease, her price dropped down (as on a market!) and she was sold for more poor costumers. When she was brought to hospital her body was already dead and doctors couldn't believe she was actually alive so long. It's not hard to guess why she didn't inform her costumers about the infections, it was probably her last revenge.

PORNOGRAPHY AS EXPRESSION OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Pornography is the next tool for humiliating women and I see it as a huge problem, also because it is approved by so many people, including so-called anarchists. In one way, we are living in very conservative society, where we should have sexual relationship with one partner (of opposite gender) and live one way of life: birth-school-job-pension-death. On the other hand, the society wants to show its democracy by giving out something totally opposite - pornography, where all these barriers are broken. When a state legalized pornography, they thought sexual assaults would disappear. But they were wrong; there were even more of them. Because pornography is not satisfaction of sexual desires (by the way - nature invented masturbation for that), but it's an expression of sexual violence. A rape does not happen because a violator would feel too strong desire to have sex, but because he shows his power over the victim. And you don't get less aggressive if you watch others doing it!
In my opinion, pornography has many negative aspects: first of all it is a demonstration of violence (it is not necessarily of a man over a woman) and showing sex as an act without emotions; the result can be increased sexual violence (molestation, rape, pedophilia). Second aspect is the one similar with the advertisements - humiliating of women (and also men), because they are shown only as sexual objects. The third aspect is also appearing in adver-

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tising - it's an expression of society rules, of how one should look and think. It mostly affects teenagers and it's really scary how young kids want to be the same as people from TV and magazines. I've heard of men who cannot sex with women, because none of them is as perfect as the ones from porno-magazine/movie. And you all know similar stories....
There are also other psychological reasons why I see pornography as a big problem, but it is already another very complex topic.

SO, WHAT DO I HAVE TO SAY ABOUT ANARCHISTS HERE?

As I experienced, most of them understand what is wrong with prostitution and even humiliating advertisements, but lots of them accept pornography as something normal (even some women have nothing against it). I argued lots of time with some of these people and after long explanations they agreed with me, but unfortunately I cannot say if they stopped consuming it. It's probably also because women don't raise their voice against it and they tolerate their partners watching porno-movies and magazines. It's another product of capitalism but opposite of some other things, this is quite hard to understand for some people. And maybe for some "anarchists" anarchism is like a job - you do it and than you come home and forget about it.

SEXISM AND FEMINISM

I think that sexism is too much treated as "a thing for female feminists", which means it's a women's problem. Sexism is a problem of both genders, because men order and women obey it. In western countries I saw a big mistake made by female feminists = places where men are not allowed. I understand that there are women, who don't want to speak about certain problems with men, but it makes this gap again - sexism is a topic for women (by the way, I consider a word "feminist" for men and women). I think it is not right to push men away, because the result is that they don't accept feminism as their idea, because they are not let close. And I know some men who are more feminist than many women. If anarchism is about having the same rights, we must accept sexism as a problem of all of us and deal with problems together. And we must show a bit of respect towards each other by rejecting patriarchal constructs such are prostitution, pornography, disrespectful personal relationships... The last thing I want to mention is ...

ANARCHO-FEMINIST SCENE IN SLOVENIA

Sadly, I have to say that there are only some little things like women festival, debates and occasional actions and nothing else. We have some gay-lesbian groups, but we don't cooperate with them a lot. Maybe because their structures are hierarchical and also because "you must be one of them". It sounds strange, but I felt uncomfortable while doing some projects with lesbian-feminist girls, because I'm not a lesbian. It's really bad to see such a small libertarian scene so thorn apart. Comparing to other cities, Ljubljana is like a small village - everyone knows everyone, lots of people have personal offences etc. So, except of some individuals, anarchist movement is not developing and questions stay unanswered. I personally see the only solution in searching for new active people and I hope one day we - men and women together can build a strong anarcho-eco-feminist movement. I hope my wish come true ...

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THOUGHTS AROUND THE WEN-DO WORKSHOP

To be able to stand our wishes

By Maciek (Lodz - Poland)

We've started libertarian activity in 2006 quite early here in Lódz. First event in this year's calendar corresponds to the topic of fighting against patriarchy quite well, because the event was Wan-Do workshop for activist women in our area. Workshop was conducted by a trainer from another city, and it had been planned for a long time. Finally, when we were unable to find any better place, where we could do it for free, we've finally decided that the Black Spider is a place good enough to face the challenge.

The workshop lasted for almost six hours, and it's aim was to teach the basics of Wen-Do.

Wen-Do is a self-defense system designed especially for women. There are some points in it's philosophy, that one can argue with, for example, that men are not allowed to take place, or even spectate such workshop, but the basic idea of showing activist women how to deal with assaults, rape attempts etc. is undoubtly right. Wen-Do is quite a ruthless and brutal martial art. The word Wen-Do origins from Japanese, and it means "women's way". It is a sad reflection that such workshops are at all necessary, but it is so. Not to mention what can happen on the streets in some of districts of our cities, women are often, way too often, subjects of situations, when their self-confidence is put to test. Of course, situations of rape attempts or sexual harassment has no chance of happening among local libertarian/punk activists, it would immediately be dealt with. But still, things like for example macho-pogo during some of our

parties, do happen. Usually most of girls don't have enough courage or self-confidence to tell people that they don't like their way of having fun (which makes it impossible for other people to have fun), and the guys just don't care. It is a problem for long discussions and many workshops. it lays in the basis of gender separation. But workshops. that show women. how they can deal with strength attempts on them. give a lot of self-confidence. It is obvious, that in 99% of cases, when a girl tries to tell a guy that he is making it impossible for her to dance, because he hits everybody around, he won't try to persuade his point of view with fists, but such possibility does always exist. We are no ghetto, there are always new and new people coming to our parties. Anyway, we are not spending our lives only on parties where we have many friends with us, who will come to help us anytime they see that something wrong is happening. We are living in cities, we have to move in these cities and the possibility of being an object of an attack is always higher than zero. Most of us live in poor neighbourhoods, where the risk is higher, and being able to show some assholes that we are not a good person to take money from is always a good.

So, what I didn't mention, is that the Wen-Do workshop was not just 6 hours of training kicks and punches. Most of the time was taking, giving examples of situations, where finding courage just to say "I don't like that. Stop doing it!" was enough to solve some problems. And this is the first step, when we want to fight against patriarchy, and generally - against the whole system - being able to state our wishes.

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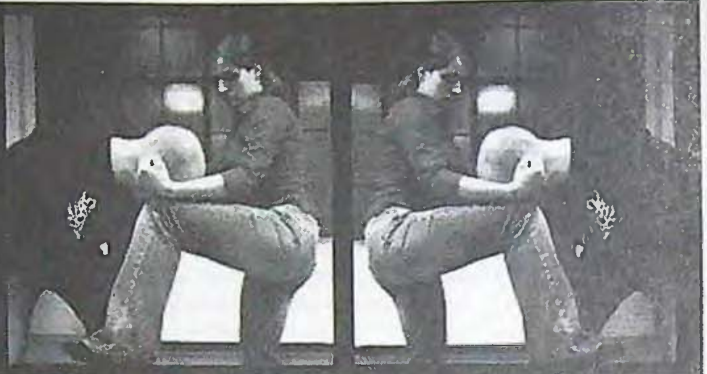

"You have to swallow a lot of visible, covered or hidden gender stereotypes"

Text based on pamphlet

"Gender in Czech Anarchist Movement"

written and published by anarcha-feminist Marta Kolarova

By Pavel (Prague - Czechia)

GENDER WITHIN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

A year and a half ago, the sharply striking pamphlet "Gender in Czech Anarchist Movement" by anarcho-feminist activist Marta Kolarova (in English! - it still could be bought in distros around the Europe, ISBN 80-903356-1-6) was published. Its impact was enormous in my opinion. However, in that time it rather got criticism than credit. And it is no surprise, as the pamphlet was a painful reading for most of the movement and it is still too much right according to me. And I believe it is more or less valid for anarchist movement across the Europe. This article is based on the abovementioned work (but in my words, using what I wanted from original pamphlet and adding my conclusion) that was based on a few years of observing, interviews and analysis (it was done as a school paper for PhD).

IDEALS AND REALITY

The anarchist movement stress equality and freedom, but according to the research, an antagonism between the ideals that the movement espouses and its real fulfillments is visible. Equality, and gender equality in particular, is still matter of words rather than reality within the movement. We talk about the unity of means and ends, which is to say that the present movement should work according to the same principles that are formulated for a future social order. This is the ideal but the reality appears different. Gender equality has not been achieved in the movement itself.

Women constituted (and it hasn't change at all so far) around one quarter of all anarchist activists. Women's participation is also marked by their short term involvement in any particular organization (only for a few months or to help organize an action after which they leave the movement) or by the fact that they participate more as sympathizers than full members of a particular organization. The low participation of women in the anarchist movement seems to be a constant historical fact. There were always many fewer significant anarchist women as compared to men (see any anarchist encyclopedia); there are also theoretical anarchist books that do not mention any women at all. According to Wright, "it would be an understatement to say that the anarchist movement -

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both historical and contemporary - is androcentric or male centered." Although there are factors that influence women's participation in social movements in general, such as social roles and the status of women, the inner organizational characteristics of the movement (ideology, effort to include women, relations between men and women etc.) play its big role. Also the absence of women role model and general male-centrism is a huge factor. Interesting fact is that organizations that focus mainly on class struggle have few women in them. Ackelsberg (in the book "Free Women of Spain") explains that women are not as identified with the proletariat as man are, they are not that interested in class struggle, and they rather feel gender discrimination. Women would rather enter organizations that express their interests.

GENDER REPRESENTATION IN THE ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

A very important factor is the gender representation on alternative media. Gender issues are sometimes presented in the magazines, web sites etc. of all anarchist organizations, but these issues are marginal. They are labeled as "women's issues" or "gender". Men's issues do not exist; rather, these topics are neutral and designated for anyone. Men are presented without gender characteristics. Male is privileged and understood as norm, while female must be particularly marked by gender.

Just a visual analysis of anarchist's media is also devastating. Only men are representing in two-thirds of all images, men and women together in one-quarter of the images; only a minimum of images shows women only. Men and women are usually represented in stereotypical roles (men as policemen, demonstrators - often violent -, politicians or famous anarchists and women as children, poor black women or sexy pink-blockers). It seems that the fact that women are poorly represented in the alternative media influences their low participation in the movement. By the way, Marta Kolarova later explored gender representation in alternative media from UK and came to the same results....

ACTIVITIES AND CULTURE

Even worse it is when comes to activities and culture of the organizations. Women can be discouraged from entering or staying in the movement by the activities or culture of some groups or the movement as a whole because it is connected with violence. The graphical layout of some groups is important from this point of view - usually antifascist groups glorifying fights. These organizations most often use physical confrontations and have very few women. They were accused to have a "macho image" ; that associates the cult of violence and roughness with men (this fact was later reflected by some of its members and leaded to some changes, by the way).

If you asked why it is so - it can be caused by different gender socialization, as women are less taught to behave violently than men, furthermore physically violent activities are an example of gendered institution that is more suitable for men. On the other hand, these groups for sure can attract some women, but is seems that men in these groups do not want to accept them. Women complains about taunting reactions towards women, jokes about women/feminists, men judging women only on the basis of their looks and taking dim views of women. Women are also seen as useless, because they are not suitable for fights.

GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR

Women and men tend to do different activities within the movement. In general men conduct intellectual work (such as writing articles, web pages and speeches) and physical work (fighting, safety guards on demonstrations). In contrast, women do practical work of caring character, such as organizing first aid at demonstrations, cooking for the homeless and during actions and meetings, and organize benefit events.

The division of activities can be caused by the different socialization of men and women, as women are taught to be more passive and caring than men. Generally, when women enter the political sphere or social movements, they continue to play family-type roles. Women' s work is often associated with care and reproduction in social movements, and the division of activities copies the gender-based division of labour in wider society. In addition, activities done by women are less valued, considered less prestigious and are seen as less important than narrowly defined political activities.

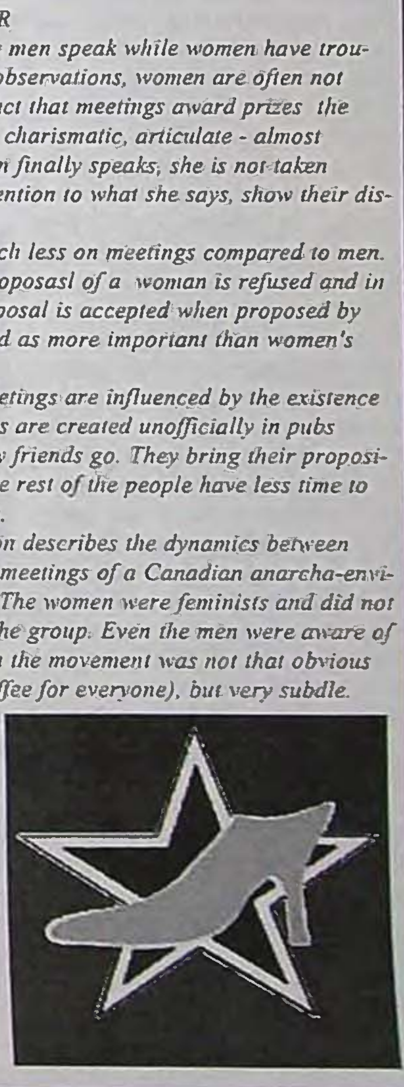
DAY-TO-DAY BEHAVIOUR

During the meetings, mostly men speak while women have trouble speaking. According to observations, women are often not aloud to speak, due to the fact that meetings award prizes the more aggressive, rhetorical, charismatic, articulate - almost always male. When a woman finally speaks, she is not taken seriously. Men pay little attention to what she says, show their disinterest, or interrupt her.

Generally women speak much less on meetings compared to men. Often it happens that the proposasl of a woman is refused and in a few minutes the same proposal is accepted when proposed by man. Men's ideas are valued as more important than women's ones.

Women's possibilities at meetings are influenced by the existence of informal structures. Plans are created unofficially in pubs where usually men or fellow friends go. They bring their propositions to the meetings and the rest of the people have less time to think about the alternatives.

Ann Hansen in Direct Action describes the dynamics between men and women within the meetings of a Canadian anarcha-environmentalist group in 80s. The women were feminists and did not want to tolerate sexism in the group. Even the men were aware of this problem. The sexism in the movement was not that obvious (such as women making coffee for everyone), but very subdle. Men dominated the discussions, spoke more in the meetings, did the most important tasks and had responsibilities, while women were more passive and did less important tasks. The problem seems to be constant even when women are emancipated and men are tolerant feminists...



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CONCLUSION

What was written above may cause strong refusal: "it is not true, there are women doing that and men doing that etc." But just try to not think of all exceptions you can but think of a general situation. After the publishing of this pamphlet, one of the mentioned anti-fascist groups defended itself by claiming: "but we have one woman in a group." One. Isn't that absurd?

I also hadn't believe it all, especially things under the paragraph "day-to-day behavior". When I later sat at the meeting, just focusing on observing the situation, I was ashamed to tears about how much right it was. What was even worst, is that as a man I was (and for sure still are) a very much part of problem... Turning down my voice and listening to the women was a first step. It is not easy. You have to swallow not only your pride, but a lot of stereotypes you were taught and even becoming aware of them. It is easy to get rid off the most visible gender stereotypes (such as starring at women, disregard for "women's" work and even the division of "man's" and "women's" work itself, making women helpless by giving them favours that, automatically, you would never give to man etc.), but there are a lot of others, covered and hidden. You have to swallow jeering of another men etc. But it is worth it.

Criticism is easy. However I believe it is also necessary in order to move forward. After reading this small article, there will be a lot of questions and very little answers. We still have to do a lot of work to smash sexism and patriarchy even in our own communities.

Author could be contacted at apf@seznam.cz

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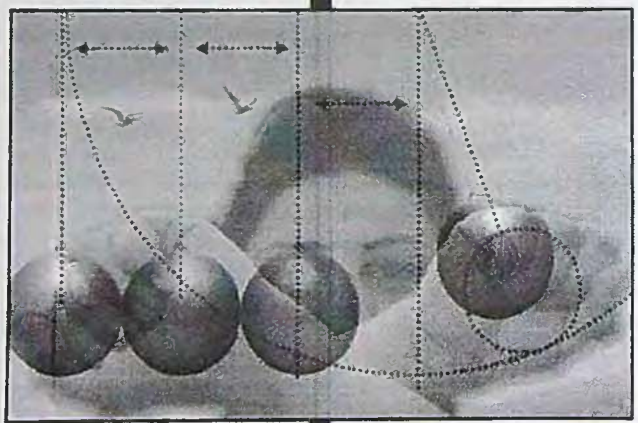
"Dreaming of being brought up free from the interference of patriarchy"

LIBERATING OURSELVES ... LIBERATING LOVE

By Veronika (AbolishingBB)

Dealing with the ongoing crusade on ones life from the side of such complex systems like capitalism, nationalism or patriarchy, one discovers always the new terrains of the social relations one is involved in, as well as the most personal areas of own life being polluted by their aggressive penetration. This is at least what I experience since years. One of such terrains where the patriarchal and capitalistic dogmas celebrate their daily impact is the area of partnerships/relationships based on desire and love. Let's call them here simply "love relations". Due to complexity of the topic I will pass over in silence the impact of capitalism here.

I was born in Poland in semi-hard-core catholic family. It means, the attitudes and "truths" like e.g. heterosexual hegemony, strict man-woman categorisation, homophobia or puritanism (all in not that radical, but still persuasive versions) became somehow automatically a constant part of my socialisation. I just didn't have any other choice, than to take during the first 15 years of my life all the patriarchal inheritance this society has to offer ... to take it on my "armless me". So I have mastered the "how to fulfil my gender role", as well as the "there is man and woman and everything else is sick", the "the only socially accepted form of relationship is monogamy", the "my partner belongs only to me", the "infidelity calls revenge", the "the patriarchal model of family is the perfect social unit on which society is build", and this entire holly true one just take at first as a fact, without questioning. However, I have to admit - it could be worse! I was at least lucky that the direct patriarchal commands of total character were never practiced on me. I mean, I was not told to marry with 16 (mostly women case) or didn't get "one way ticket of socialisation", landing in the role of a chief, an officer, a leader and a father as soon as I was physically ready for it (mostly men case). But still, I woke up as rebellious teenager with huge burden of patriarchal determined manners, ideas and behaviours and it took me quite a long time to realize that fact. And a lot of years to fight it back. And being honest, I still am waking up again and again, discovering the new shadows of patriarchal inheritance driving my personality.



The chain of experiences with love-relationships, I went through during all these years, shows perfectly how deep all these shadows were and still are hidden in me. Since many years I consider myself an anarchist and I am still far from being able to state: "Brothers and sisters - I have got rid of all patriarchal thoughts, manners and behaviours. I am free - you don't need to be scared of me". Each relationship I approach (and the mutual-experiences taking place there) appears still to be quite an intensive process of questioning my perception. I know it all can sound pathetic, as everyone gathers experiences during her/his life. But I am focusing here specifically on what I have understood and learned about the sources and effects of dogmatic hetero-monogamist understanding of love relationships, of "fidelity", jealousy, "infidelity"... and of how long it takes a person brought up in patriarchal environment to reach the level of consciousness which allows oneself to liberate her/him self from it. What I have gained I wish to share - as I may be not the only on this world dealing with these problems...

So ... where did I arrive after all these years of painful (and regrettable) deconstruction of patriarchal mind-sets in my personality? What do I think from today's perspective about the issue of love-relationships? What did I learned that would be worth sharing with others, in order to spread and speed up common process of liberating ourselves and "liberating the love" (in terms of reaching egalitarian social relationships on this area)?

I think we should not lie ourselves talking about free-love today, while the most of us are similar poor creature like me, whose personality has been shaped from patriarchal plasticize, still hardly reaching more unleashed shape. Actually, today love as such is far from being free. It is maybe free in the same way as some thousands of Zapatistas could consider themselves to be free: in some places, in some moments, with some comrades, to the cer-

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tain level ... till the global reality doesn't hit back. But in general, love waits to be liberated through crash of patriarchy's determinative domination. And everyone can do a lot for this ... (is it not one of the best sorts of inspirations to fight back the chains of patriarchy: to liberate love?!)

According to my experience, this process can start with raising the consciousness of variety of existing forms of relationships and expressions of love: homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, autosexual, "nature-sexual" (love and sex directed to the nature instead of other humans), polysexual, Platonic love, monogamist, polygamist, triads, affinity love groups, polyamory, promiscuous, institutional marriages, spiritual marriages, group marriages, "community in marriage", informal relation, open relation, long-term relation, occasional short-term relations, "traditional" family, extended family, with children, without children, single lifelong, relation with much older or much younger (as long as they can be conscious of what is going on, in both cases), love in everywhere, domestic love, etc. This enlarging of our perception has to go together with raising the understanding of equal legitimacy and egalitarian social value of all of these "constellations". How can these both aims be pushed forward under patriarchal dominance of today? Before the various systems of libertarian education can be set up, the most efficient way I see now is permanent, mutual and free exchange of experiences between the enthusiasts of all these forms and expressions. Obviously in nowadays circumstances some of the minorities are forced to use more offensive forms of public appearance in order to get through patriarchal dominance and spring up into public consciousness, while in the "better times" I don't think that this "offensive character" should be necessary cultivate.

As long term goal, I see the wider social consensus on supporting free development of all these forms (as far as they do not transport any authoritarianism). To the constant elements of this consensus should belong, above of all the one of complete sovereignty in choosing own preferences, by every individual, according to own needs, values and lifestyle. Under this sovereignty is not only meant rejection of any direct intervention, but above all elimination of indirect indoctrination through media and other institutions. The individual decision on this terrain can/should be consulted basically with the partner(s) involved in the relation.

This fact opens another important aspect I have learned and would like to stress here. This is the importance of open and sincere attitude during the whole period of love-relationship, people should reclaim. It costs me personally some bitter experiences to re-learn the egoistic "attitude of self-protection" leading to insincere behaviours towards my partners in the past. This leads to misunderstandings in expectations and development of negative emotions. In harder cases, so welcomed in patriarchal relations, one side is very oft latently planning to take the other side in possession. These (in today's people perception) "romantic plans" are actually so close from the dreams of domination, that I find it necessary to keep them out of the relationships and replaced by sincere (till pain if necessary) approaches from the very beginning.

Dozens of myths being reproduce on this terrain through patriarchal dogma, among them this of the "one life - one partner" (in whatever, homo-, hetero-, other- relations), or the one of "belonging to someone". They are to dismantle as well for other simply reason: in order to decrease a level of sufferings, embitterment and disappointments. Too many people suffer today unnecessarily in their "love"-relationships, because they are afraid of quitting them at the right time; but too many suffer as well the long-term psychical tortures as a result of loosing a partner. So if love is so constantly connected with suffering - how we can about it to be free... In this case, after extinguishing one relationship (or just extinguishing the true emotions in there) people should be psychically ready (able) to undertake the new experience. Each "end" should be welcomed by us as an invitation to the "new". In this sense the end of a relationship should not be seen as a crisis in ones life, but as a fascinating phase, a beginning of a new chapter, so that all three phases of a love-relationship (periods of coming together, living in a relationship, and period of parting itself) would all carry the exciting and positive sort of emotions. Of course, being realistic, in many cases (because the emotions of two/three/... persons are almost never getting their hypes simultaneously) someone will always be put on the harder test of suffering. But the already mentioned means, like sincerity in each moment of relationship, better understanding of human emotions, giving up the patriarchal dreams of possessiveness and domination, as well as discovering the positive side of parting - all these aspects should bring the "bad taste of being left by a partner" to the very minimum. Routine and stagnancy are anyway infamous energetic-vampires. Not only on this terrain of love relationships!

However passionate the very long process of dismantling the patriarchal wicks of own personality can be, the chilling side of this evolution is the one of finding yourself on a lonely trip towards wonderful island placed in the middle of the ocean of patriarchal caused behaviours. Another lesson I learned: Individual self-emancipation does not put me (or anyone of us) in a more comfortable position. The old true comes back: one is free only within a free society - as well on the terrain of love relationships. Otherwise one reminds surrounded by people who (even if they pretend) can not deal in free way. Using my own "emancipated behaviour" towards those, whose understanding of this issue is far from my one, becomes sometimes very problematic, unfair and even authoritarian. Especially when one is conscious of these differences from the very beginning. This was one of the bitter lessons I have learned not such a long time ago confronting my partner with some of these ideas. Therefore I would like to stress once again that the processes of breaking chains of patriarchy can not be reduced to only personal level (what is to observe), but needs to confront as well all collective, social and institutional forces, which enforce and reproduce these chains.

Finally, after years of consequent confrontation with shadows left by patriarchal socialisation on my personality, including love-relationship-related fuck ups, I never got rid of one kind of jealousy. And I will probably never reach this point. This is the jealousy about those, who have the possibility to be brought up free from the daily interference of the patriarchy....

Hmm ... love and anarchy!

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FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK PATRIARCHY IN CROATIA

By Tatjana and Suncana (Zagreb)

I wouldn't say that machismo, homophobia, sexism and other levels of violence are common only for the people in our region. They are part of every society, but yes, there is a very big problem with verbal and physical violence against wimmin, and their denial in our country (region). The main problems would be, of course, bad education and mentality. These wouldn't be just prejudices, but simply a reality of everyday life in our region. Also, a big problem is that people are ignorant. and, knowing that, is something that should and could be changed.

But also, few years ago, things started to change on some levels. The first Gay Pride parade happened to Zagreb in 2002, and a lot of homophobic people were against it. You could just see their angry faces, full of rage and hate towards everything "different" than themselves. It was something totally new in our society, and unfortunately, for someone only something "interesting" that was happening in the city.

But already the year after, there was almost no people fighting against the parade. Obviously, every "freak show" is interesting in the beginning, or they just don't have strong arguments anymore.

Capitalism is the main source and the product of patriarchy and a good example of that is the use of the woman body for industrial and media needs, which are also the needs of people and men in our society. In our country the church and religion in general are showing us that they are trying to be a part of our lives, and that they will use any instrument to control our way of thinking, claiming that their icons are better then our ways of living. When the war in Croatia just started, the church was playing a big role in politics, as like the war was in the name of god (which is true, cause that war was also a war between catholics - Croats and prawoslavs - Serbs), which is still continuing (for example, small kids, from 6 to 10 years, are poisoned in the school with hate every day, having posters with war scenes in front of their eyes, next to school board). You could see all their proud and patriotic faces on the TV, shaking hands and making our history. There were almost no wimmin as a part of making that history. I think that showed that war is men's playground ("for those who are stronger") and that wimmin, as in all wars, stay at home, trying to keep their homes together, and waiting for their hero. Since the end of the war, and let's say, some kind of "normal" living, there was no place for "others" and "strange" in our society. It seemed as the war took a possibility for civilization and progress, but everybody were urging to develop capitalism as opposition to communism which they hated. The makers of that capitalism and Croatian way of democracy were rightist men on the high places. Do I have to say that our capitalism is patriarchal? Which isn't? That is a domain of men ruling, they are developers and makers of the society, and wimmin are on the billboards, just being pretty. Television, newspapers, society are showing us that violence against wimmin is acceptable. The ridicoulously low punishments for rapists, and no convictions for their crimes, show us that there is nothing wrong with raping wimmin. The Minister of justice explained that this is because judges are afraid to give high punishments to rapists, and because there is "a tradition of not giving high punishments". But also, there is a tradition in Croatia that judges are simply stupid. When a man beats his wife, they say that is a family problem and of those 4 walls they're living in. That is a same problem everywhere, because our societies are just made out of a bunch of ignorants, thinking only of themselves. (Also, the problem of violence against wimmin is the main topic which local feminist NGO's are dealing with, and it's slowly showing some results in a way that general attitude now is that it's not a shame for a woman to admit that she's been beaten, and some new related laws are declaimed.)

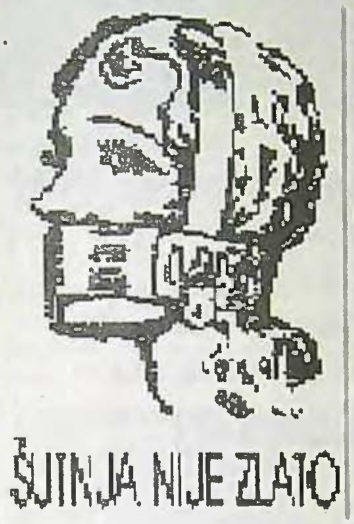
Za ugnjetavanje
ne postoji opravdanje

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

ANARCHIST'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS PROBLEMS RELATED TO PATRIARCHY

For me, anarchism without feminism doesn't make sense, same as feminism without anarchism. In anarchist circles the problems connected with patriarchy are unrecognized - questions of relations of men and wimmin as a result of patriarchal-capitalist system are everybody's problems, not just wimmin's, and it concerns every man, too. As a main problem, as I see it, is the apathy of girls, as well as boys, concerning these problems, cause until we won't work on these problems together, liberation of wimmin won't happen, as well as liberation of human kind, nor animals. Repression is a result of social structure, projected from macro-structure till micro-relations. Concretely, in Croatia, when it comes to guys - some of them give you the so called "silent support", but most of them are not aware of these problems. When I say "silent support", that means that they will help you about something when you ask them, but they' ll never actively react in case when sexism is openly presented. I can give one example - when one sexist from abroad came to Zagreb, some girls were first who started to react on openly sexist behaviour, but our comrades didn't believe them at first, until he didn't start to behave like that in front of them, too. The biggest disappointment was that nobody really stood up to him, except girls. But I'm sure if he would be a fascist openly provoking, the reaction would be fast and brutal. I suppose that level of sexism in a daily life is much bigger, and that's the way it seems more normal and it's better accepted. I never saw a case of a guy working in a daily life in supporting anti-sexist struggle, so I'm starting to believe that such thing doesn't exist...



Considering all guys within the so called "scene" which means they had more opportunity then other guys in society to come to informations about emancipation - results are not encouraging. I know like 4 guys who went so far to write a text about following topics: pornography, patriarchy, prostitution and men as anarcho-feminists. That's kind of sad considering all fanzines and texts on Internet, and even song lyrics written in a last few years. Yes, there was even one sad attempt of writing about marriage in a spirit of feminism.

ANFEMA

Now I'll write about the only group in this area (of ex-Yugoslavia), which works on promoting anarcha-feminist ideas - Anfema (www.anfema.tk). (In issue 17 of ABB there was an interview with members of Anfema published.) The group was formed back in 1999, and exists with few brakes for 7 years now. A lot of girls passed through the group, but only recently 2 guys are closely connected to the group's work, although one of them do not label himself as a member. We are focused on our small distribution (that's the source of our finances - we are self substained, which differs us from others feminist groups, among other things), we print T-shirts and patches with A-feminist motives, make buttons, fanzine Femzine (#1 out), as well as translating brochures, and organizing educational lectures with discussions on following topics: woman and media, traffic of wimmin, pornography... About one year ago 7 girls between 16 to 23 joined, which radically increased energy of a group, which was close to its end. Another bomb of energy was when we were in Macedonia, in Skopje, on 1st anarcho-feminist festival EVER on this area. That inspired us to do the same thing, and I hope I will be able to invite you all to visit our festival in Zagreb in April of 2007. We need a lot of time and energy to prepare it well, and to collect enough money through benefits, cause we don't want to collect it through fundraising, as feminist NGO's do. We also have 2 bands, formed by members of Anfema, and I'm mentioning it here because it came out as an answer on a problem of lack of girls on punk-HC scene in Croatia. Hope we'll learn how to play soon: Unfortunately, this group is one of the few rare organized groups doing things related to anarchism, since our movement pretty much collapsed in last years, now it is mostly made out of individuals, who gather around when some project or activity is made (like Take it or leave it shop and Anarchist Book Fair in Zagreb). But this core is too small to deal with some possibly bigger actions. It's hard to me to write about sexism, or some other thing, within anarchist movement, because sometimes it comes to such a small number of individuals, that it's questionable if can we call it a movement. We have 2-3 groups working in the whole Croatia, in different cities, and few individuals in some smaller cities, but movement is still in a phase of working to make local level stronger, and to enlarge it. Cooperation between those groups is necessary, but also rare. One fine example of cooperation on topic of anti-sexism is when our Rijeka's comrades (RAI) started a discussion about pornography in their newsletter, and after some time, they invited us on an open discussion about that topic, which was pretty successful, cause there was a lot of new faces. I think things like that should happen more often.

I can't talk about cooperation between oppressed "minorities" - the only thing that cross my mind is when a group of anarchists supported 1st Gay Parade in Zagreb few years ago, but that's it.

I'd like to mention here one more informal group, which existed few years ago. It was called ZUG (Wimmin's Urban Guerilla), and was dealing with the medias in the sense of graffiting billboards. It was made of girls from Wimmin's studies, which was very impressive, since those girls, primarly from civil and NGO sector, took over direct action as a way of acting. They got very much of the media attention, but since they were very inexperienced with direct action, they got busted by police, and they splitted.

Hope to write you soon with more positive news...

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GDJE IMA UGNJETAVANJA
IMA I OTPORA

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

ALL FEMINISTS ARE GREEN, BUT NOT ALL GREENS ARE FEMINISTS?

By Maxigas (Budapest - Hungary)

During the last years there has been a slow but steady process of convergence between feminist and green NGOs and groups, partly caused by a love story involving a feminist girl and a green boy. The power of love established the link between the two spheres. But why are these two 'spheres'? Green ideology includes all human rights advocacy, even women's rights. In principle, feminism should be an integral part of green activity. However, the reality of the Hungarian scene defies the principle. All activists want to make principles reality, and the integration of green and the feminist-activity should be one of them!

The slow convergence until this point involved feminist articles in the local Indymedia website, some common actions and gatherings, and naturally heated discussions among the parties. Feminists say that "the personal is political". The local anarchist groups readily attempted to incorporate feminist principles into their daily workings. Globalisation-critical NGOs, however, seem to have a problem respecting women. When the issue was brought up in one of the leading Hungarian green NGOs, the dominant males of the "eco-political" organisation took it "personal" - as a personal offence. They described attempts by more enlightened members to introduce feminist principles as a primitive whitch-hunting. I think the opposite: they are the ones who are in the dark middle ages (if there was ever such a thing), and think of themselves as God-sent rulers of the land.

ALL FEMINISTS ARE GREEN,
BUT NOT ALL GREENS ARE FEMINISTS?

On the other hand, the convergence meant little change in the day-to-day life of feminist groups. Green activists were surprised to find that their feminist counterparts are already collecting their garbage selectively, recycle printing paper and so on. The improvement to be desired - there is more cooperation with the larger movement and greater breath of society's critique. I believe that both greens and feminists have a great deal to learn from each other, and realise the link that was so evident in the history of both movements, only for some reasons underdeveloped in Hungary. I hope that in my next report on the issue I can write about green groups as feminist groups, and feminist groups as anti-capitalists.

2006.01.13, Budapest,
sitting in a carriage of the underground train.

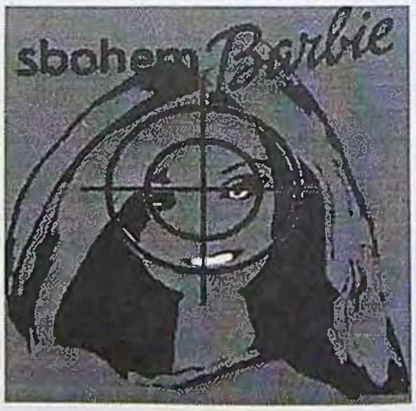
As unfortunately we didn't got in touch fast enough with Czech "Bloody Mary" collective in order to ask them for direct contribution in this issue of ABB, we spontaneously decided to simply stole interview printed below from the web-site www.grrrlzines.net. Even if it was done one and an half year ago we decided to publish it because it touches many aspects, which are simply valid ALWAYS. As well, according to our information, "Bloody Mary" collective is still alive and kicking! Thank to everyone who make possible this interview appeared and ready to get stolen by ABB. Thank and greetings to "Bloody Mary" itself. AbolishingBB

> ***"Capitalism is younger than patriarchy but it has harnessed its forgoer for its own interests. Feminism therefore should fight capitalism as well because of its constituted strong oppression of men, women and children"***

Spreading feminist ideas in the Czech Republic...

BLOODY MARY !

An interview
with
Emca
Revoluce
(Prague)
by Elke Zobl;
April 2004



Emca Revoluce means "Emma The Revolution." According to zinester Emca, this was a nickname of a dancer in a club in Prague in the 1920s. She was the first to introduce tango (considered as a 'dirty' dance) in Prague, and therefore she gained the name "Revolution." Some eighty years later, Emca is starting a grrrl revolution with her zine Bloody Mary the Czech Republic!

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

Can you tell me first of all a little bit about yourself? How old are you, where are you originally from and where do you reside now?

Well, in the present I am 23. I live in Prague, the capital of Czech Republic, where I also come from. Living in a big city is huge advantage - lots of people you can cooperate with, lots of events, access to internet etc. I do not plan moving to another place or town as it is not easy to find a place to live and job in smaller towns.

What do you do besides your zine?

I study at the Charles University in Prague, for bachelor degree. I've studied humanities and now I'm studying media studies. However the center of my interests are gender studies or the intersection of gender, subcultures and media. At the moment I don't have a steady job. My other activities are fire-show, writing poetry and painting, but I don't have much time for that these days. What our Bloody Mary collective does beside the zine are concerts (for raising money and promoting grrrl bands) and feminist parties, we make t-shirts, badges and patches with feminist motives, sometimes we participate in organizing demos (usually anarchist) - but that's not very often.

For how long have you been running your zine now? How many issues did you put out until now? Are you the only editor or is there a team?

Bloody Mary has started in spring 2000. Since that time we've published nine issues and the 10th is coming soon. We are a team of usually 4 grrrls. However, the editorial stuff has been changing all the time. In the beginning there were 3 founders and since that time a few girls joined and left. I personally joined the collective in spring 2001. That time we decided to use computer program to make the layout and also to be more "political". The cooperation is sometimes very weak so one issue was done only by me. Now we are four girls again.

What made you decide to start this project? How did you come up with the idea and the name?

Well, I guess I am not the right person to answer this question as I came after one year of running the zine but I'll try to explain it. There were two friends-punk girls who met another girl on a concert where she had been harassed by a drunken guy. The two "saved" her and they became friends. They came to the idea that they don't want to simply consume things that men created. First they wanted to have a band but then they decided to found a zine. Therethrough they wanted to pass their ideas to other people, both male and female, especially the feminist ideas, though they didn't call them feminist that time. The name was invented just by accident - originally the girls were talking about drinks and mentioned "Bloody Mary". After that they realized it would be a good name for their zine as it has lots of meaning: Bloody Mary is beside the red drink also nick-name of english queen Mary I. And it is also innuendo on woman's period.

What topics are most often discussed in your zine?

Each issue is focused on one topic. We have had female warriors, pregnancy, menstruation, prostitution, subcultures and patriarchy etc. Beside the main topic, each issue contains regular columns as "the beauty myth", "famous woman", "women of the world", and many others. We want to have serious articles because feminism and women's right are serious things, but we also want to have fun, so many of the articles are plain irony, full of jokes and absurd ideas. We have parodies on articles from magazines for teen girls, contests, comic strips etc.

What do you hope to accomplish by establishing your zine?

We want to inform people - give them another point of view. We want to show that women have also something to say and that they can do it. We want to spread feminist/riot grrls ideas. And, we want to have fun and amuse other people as well. The zine sometimes works as a sting for it, criticizing sexist behaviour of male in "the movement" (I mean anti-capitalist or anarchist movement which we are part of).

What does zine making (and reading) mean to you? What do you love and find challenging about zine making?

Mmm, a lots of things. I feel that there are many things and topics left un-discussed and unveiled. So we want to bring them to the light and make them public - as in the case of the bleeding issue. For me personally it means that I can came across lots of information about various topics, women etc. when I look for data for my articles - so, making the zine is a sort of studying. And it is also very exciting to create something - after the new issue is printed I' ve treated it almost like my child and I am very proud of it (although there are lots of mistakes and things to be improved). And each issue, though we are over the moon when it is ready, is a challenge, too. We have to learn from our mistakes and try to make the next issue even better. Other zines give us a good amount of inspiration.

How did you find out about zines? What have they come to mean to you?

They are an alternative source of information and they are done on d.i.y. principle which means that you can take part and express yourself. When I came into the "movement" it was just natural that there were zines but it took me a while to realize that I could be editor of one of them.

What advice would you give others who want to start a zine?

Don't be afraid to start something. If it was to last just a few

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months it is worthy making it. Perhaps you can help others to change their lives or encourage them in their own activities. As i see it, it is mainly girls who need such empowernment. And may the zine have no impact or audience, still there is a group of the editors who are good friends - at least our collective (or some of us) makes trips and parties, goes to concerts and we try to support each other, which is a good thing. On more practical level: in the beginning just a few articles is enough. And then you can manage to have as many pages as 72 in a printed zine as we have now.

What are some of the zines you admire?

The problem is that we don't have many zines here - it also depend on the definition of "the zine". There are lots of alternative magazines in Czech Republic (anarchist, few feminist, antifascist, environmentalist etc.) but I wouldn't say they call themselves "zines". And moreover, we don't have much "input" from abroad so I actually cannot name any zines that I really admire and that you would know...

Do you feel part of a zine community or network and what does it mean to you?

Since I've joined the RGE forum I slightly become to have such a feeling. I have already exchanged experience and few zines with other grrrls, done interviews with interesting women groups abroad. It is good to know that there are many other people who share your point of view and from who you can be inspired by. This was about the virtual grrrl community. But there is also the physical community - our collective which I can feel much stronger as it is present somehow permanently or instantly ... if you understand what I mean. The community is mainly about cooperation, friendship and solidarity.

Could you please describe a little bit the grrrl zine community or network in your country? Can you estimate how many other grrrl zinesters there are, and how do you interact with each other?

As I have mentioned above, there are no other grrrl zines in Czech Republic. There is one project "let girls rock" which supports women in rock, runs a database of female musicians etc (the website is www.rockerka.com). There is also one tremendous guy who is very interested in riot grrrl movement, activities and music and who runs a website dedicated to them. (his name is Frankie and has a member profile on RGE website) It was him who invited me in RGE forum. Them there are some grrrl bands who run their websites but none is explicitly riot grrrls'.

Which role plays the Internet for you? Does it change your ideas of making zines and doing/reading zines?

Yes, internet is a big help in this. It provides communication and thanks to it I found out about you and your grrrlzines.net:) we plan to have Bloody Mary website as it would bring us more popularity (hahaha), provide more space than the printed version, and would be accessible for people from abroad in case at least something would be in English. On the other hand, reading paper zine is sometimes more convenient - you can read it whenever you want, not just on your computer. So, the inspiration from e-zines is that I'd like to run both paper and virtual zine as both have their advantages and disadvantages.

Do you define yourself as a feminist? Do you identify yourself as a riot grrrl, lady, or any other term?

I define myself as a feminist, but feminism is a very wide river with many various streams: radical/ socialist/ liberal/ anarcho-feminism, etc. So to be precise I define myself as a riot grrrl although my age probably overtops the average age of the early riot grrrls:). For me, riot grrrl means to be strong and have fun while still be aware of serious things that affect women in patriarchal society.

Do you feel part of the riot grrrl movement (or any other movement)? Do you think it is still alive and thriving? Why (why not)? How has it changed in your view?

Well, the movement is alive as long as its members are alive and have something to say. For me, riot grrrls have challenged the too academic feminism of their mothers and fit well into the third wave of feminism. In our country there isn't anything as riot grrrl movement so, as mentioned before, I can feel as a part of it just virtually, via internet. Here where I live I feel more as a member of anti-capitalist movement. Capitalism is younger than patriarchy but it has harnessed its forgoer for its own interests. Feminism therefore should fight capitalism as well cause it constitutes strong oppression of men, women and children.

BECAUSE EVERY GIRL IS A RIOT GRRRL !
BLOODY MARY

What are the most pressing issues you are confronted with in

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daily life (as a woman/feminist)? Are you active in the feminist movement besides making a grrrl zine?

Sexual harassment, rape, beauty myth, and people's negative attitudes to feminism, and many other things telling you what a girl should/can and shouldn't/can't do. I don't have much time, so my other activities are poor. They usually consist of participating in demonstrations, writing articles for other magazines...

What were some of main influences that have empowered you (punk, feminism, zines, friends ..) in your life?

To start from the very beginning it was my parents who influenced me. They raised me and my sister partly as boys - doing sports, be active etc, on the other hand we received a good portion of feminine education as every girl. And then, as I grew up I felt that things around me weren't alright (mainly the environment, animal rights, poverty, racism...) and with guidance of my older sister I joined my first demos. At the university I had lessons on feminism and ecology, and parallel I came into the anti-capitalist movement. Of course it was punk that influenced me but these days I am rather disgusted by "Alco-punks" how we call the constantly drunk dirty people who beg money just to buy another bottle of beer and whose only protest against the society is getting drunk and destroying themselves. The subculture, music and image are important in a way but when it is the only thing you have than it is pitiful paucity. These days I have a few really good friends who I trust and support. As late as now I found out what a real grrrl solidarity means and I am very happy to experience it.

What do you think about feminism today? Do you see yourself as part of Third Wave Feminism and if yes, what does it mean to you? Or why not?

I'd like to see myself as part of 3rd wave of feminism but this is difficult because in the Eastern Europe with 40 years of soviet totalitarian regime there was no feminist movement. One has to admit that women here were employed and could do what women of the west hardly could do, but many things that feminism puts stress on remained unchanged. So, it is not easy to create the 3rd wave when we hadn't the second. However, 3rd wave feminism is eclectic in a way - which is good. It says people (women) are diverse but that doesn't mean that they deserve to be diminished, despised or oppressed. I think that in this phase feminism contains other movement striving for liberation - liberation of women, men, people of color, of different ages, and of various types of sexuality; and I can go further to include animal rights and environment.

Do you consider grrrl zines as an important part of a social movement or/and a feminist movement? Can you see any unique contributions they may have made to society and these movements?

I think that every political activity, and riot grrrl movement is a political activity, sooner or later finds out that they need a "room of one's own", they need something where to communicate their ideas to the public and among each other. Therefore, the zines exist. So, I think that the zines and other media are essential part of any movement. There is no action without communication. And what about grrrl zines particularly: if they were of no importance, they wouldn't become a phenomenon. I think that a lot of girls (and boys) were enpowered by them. They are suitable feminist response and alternative to those terrible mainstream magazines for girls and young women. The more parts of their lives people take in their hands the better is for them and the worse for the patriarchal capitalist system. And amongst those parts of our lives belongs what we watch, read, and listen to. So, yes, the zines are important and efficient part of any social movement, including the feminist one.

Do you think zines can effect meaningful social and political change at large? If yes, how?

They can provide people with information and attitudes that the mainstream media will never give you. On the other hand, reading such a zine doesn't necessarily mean that after you have read it you'd go and organize a protest, smash McDonald's window or behave and think in absolutely new way. So, the zines are kind of "ideological support" which is needed but doesn't lead directly to an action or social change.

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Contact with Bloody Mary you will find on ABB - "Communities in Struggle" pages at the end of each issue.

FIGHTING BACK THE CHAINS OF PATRIARCHY

UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

CROATIA

TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT

At the end of December 05, the 2nd "Take it or leave it" event was held as part of festival of alternative economics in Zagreb. Event was very successful, people found out about it very quickly, and lots of them left or took some goods, mostly clothes. Mainstream media were very aggressive as they strongly wanted to connect this event with Christmas spirit, but the organizers were consequently and radically refusing to give any statements, which intrigued hungry journalists even more. After event about 75 bags full of clothes were left, which most probably will be given to some local social institutions, since activists do not have any place to store it where people could come any time and take it. This lack of simple infrastructure seems to be very common for all anarchist projects around Eastern Europe which limits their activities to a certain level. However activist@s from Zagreb are satisfied with the whole event.

GEORGIA

27-OLD MAN GOT LIFE SENTENCE FOR FAILED ATTEMPT ON BUSH AND SAAKASHVILIS LIVES

Few moths ago a report appeared in ABB, that there was a failed attempt on life of Bush and his Georgian "brother in arm", president Saakashvili. On 10 May 2005 while Bush visited Georgian capital of Tbilisi somebody threw hand grenade in his and Saakashvili's direction at official event in stadium. Unfortunately, weapon of Russian construction flew some 50 meters from both heads of the states, yet didn't even explode. In the middle of January 2006 one person, 27-years old Arutunyan (Georgian), got life sentence for this attempt. "I'm not considering myself a terrorist, I'm simply human person. I'm appealing to all international organisations and tribunals" he said after judge verdict was read. Arutunyan was charged for homicide (of one cop, which died during operation of arresting him, in July of 2005), attempted homicide, terrorism and treason.

TURKEY

NO COMPROMISE WITH CAPITALIST MONEY CIVILISATION

Night of 3 January a group of anarchists destroyed an ATM in Istanbul against the capitalist money civilization... After direct action they spray painted the walls near the bank writing "No Compromise!", "Anarchy" and "Insurrection Against Civilization" ... and they stated that they'll be preparing for the next attack against civilization.

POLAND

FLAMING BOTTLES ON THE PRESIDENTIAL RESIDENCE IN WARSAW

Polish police on Saturday arrested a man for attacking a sentry post guarding the residence of President Lech Kaczynski, Polish news agency said. The man approached the presidential residence in downtown Warsaw at dawn and threw flaming bottles at the sentry, a police spokesman said. There were no casualties in the incident. Police soon surrounded the attacker's house and arrested him, the spokesman said. Sources close to police said the man, suspected to be mentally ill, was sent to a mental hospital. ABB don't have any more precise information but still we consider the "lonely Brave heart" as the most mentally sober of all the persons directly and indirectly involved in the incident.

SOLIDARITY PICKET WITH MEHMET TARHAN IN WARSAW

In Warsaw there was a solidarity picket for Mehmet Tarhan in front of the Turkish Embassy. Dec. 9 was International Day of Solidarity with Mehmet, an anarchist and war resister who is in jail for conscientious objection.

People from Anarchist Federation and Amnesty International attended. Embassy officials refused to speak to them or accept letters or petitions. Some protesters phoned and tried to organize a meeting with the ambassador but were given the run around. An event had already been organized for Mehmet two weeks earlier and AI is collecting signatures on petitions and promise to continue sending letters to the embassy and trying to meet the ambassador.

PRESSURE ON POLICE IN POZNAN AFTER REPRESSIONS AGAINST EQUALITY PARADE

The police general chief ordered the police chief in Poznan not to prosecute participants of the Equality March (for sexual minority rights) on November 19th. The demonstration took place despite the ban imposed by the president of Poznan, but this ban was later found illegal by the regional administrative court in Poznan. The court decided that the decision was a violation of constitutional rights. The police opened 70 cases in court against participants of the Equality March for "refusing to disperse a public gathering when ordered to do so by police". These cases might now be dropped. The police were also pressured to start cases against fascist counter-demonstrators for throwing objects on the demonstrators and for shouting "we will do with you - what Hitler did with the Jews" (under the paragraph of promoting fascism).

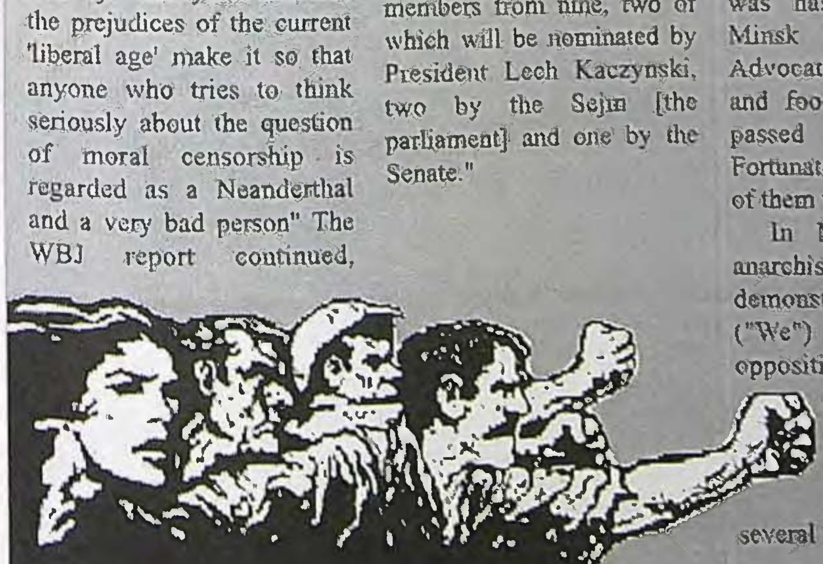
UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

UNNOTICED NEWS - UNNOTICED NEWS

NEOLIBERALS AND RULING CATHOLICS ARGUING ABOUT MORAL CENSORSHIP

The following appeared on Google news and was not mentioned on any Polish media, what can mean untrue, or it consciously suppressed news...

The WBJ (Warsaw Business Journal) reported that the leader of the ruling PiS (Law and Justice) Party who is also the boss of the Polish parliament, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, speaking on the anti-Semitic and ultra-conservative Catholic radio station Radio Maryja, has said that government must exercise "moral censorship" and take a greater role in controlling media and education. Kaczynski - whose twin brother, Lech Kaczynski, is Poland's homophobic president - "also railed against how Catholics are treated in the media, and claimed that Catholics are discriminated against in Poland" the report said - an absurd claim in this overwhelmingly Catholic country. "Kaczynski said that the prejudices of the current 'liberal age' make it so that anyone who tries to think seriously about the question of moral censorship is regarded as a Neanderthal and a very bad person" The WBJ report continued, adding: "He claims this underlies the prejudice of liberal democracy where "gay people are allowed to conduct perverse demonstrations in the streets, but it is forbidden to discuss the issue of moral censorship." (The reference to "perverse demonstrations" is to nation-wide protests against the violent police repression of a march for gay human rights.) "At the same time, Kaczynski lamented what he called discrimination against Catholics and Catholic institutions. Catholics are often denied government funding on account of their religious nature, he claims. The PiS (Party of Law and Justice) leader also promised that the government, which is 'composed of people of faith,' will be alert to this problem. "In order to protect Poland's morality, Kaczynski believes the government should strengthen its grip on the radio, television and press industry and institutions connected with education. Recently the government introduced amendments to the media law that slimmed down the National Radio and Television Council to five members from nine, two of which will be nominated by President Lech Kaczynski, two by the Sejm [the parliament] and one by the Senate."



BELARUS

REPRESSION IN MINSK – SOLIDARITY ACTIONS IN MOSCOW

14th of January in Minsk of Belarus, 10 Russian and two Belarusian activists and anarchists were arrested next to movie theatre "Pobeda", accused of making graffiti. All detained – members of anti-authoritarian initiatives and take active part in struggle for animal rights, they are vegan and vegetarians. They supposedly made spray paint on one of the cities wall against president of Byelorussia. They were detained because they were staying near the site where were fresh spray paints. However no paint and aerosol can were found in their things. All comrades worried a lot, since in a new recently approved penal codex of Belarus, especially targeted against "orange revolutions". "libelling president" may result in you landing in jail for 5 years, and graffiti action for 3 years... so solidarity work was hastily organised in Minsk and in Moscow. Advocates were searched, and food was immediately passed to the arrested. Fortunately, after 2 days all of them were released.

In Moscow, some 20 anarchists joined solidarity demonstration of "My" ("We") for Belarusian opposition at Belarusian embassy in Moscow, which gathered some 60 people altogether. "My" is one of several Russian "clone-Pora" (or "clone-Otpor") organisations, which are up for an "orange revolution". Name "My" is an obvious reference to pro-Kremlin goon squad "Nashi" ("Ours").

Activists of "My" lighted candles and carried portraits of disappeared and jailed Belarusian pro-democracy activists. Picket was illegal, so any shouting of slogans or unrolling of banners was likely to result in arrests (police practice in this respect varies a lot between Russian regions... Moscow being one of the most liberal ones. In most of the other cities illegal picket would have been immediately dispersed, and suspected ringleaders ticketed). Anarchists however unrolled a poster with names of 9 of the 12 arrested comrades (others were unknown), and began shouting "Freedom to Ukrop" and also slogans related to other arrested. Very soon one person was arrested and banner was confiscated. Other spectacular events did not occur during demonstration, and soon arrested person was released without further consequences.

New actions were planned in Moscow, but fortunately just few hours ago people received great news that everybody was released in Minsk without any charges. It could be that the police was taken by surprise by attention given to case, but obviously they had not much proof either because none of the accused was caught red-handed.

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TELEVIZIJA
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SERBIA

STATEMENTS AND CONDEMNATIONS CAUSED BY PUBLIC BURNING OF "ATHEIST" BY FASCISTS APOLO TV

"Colective DBPD is warning public in Serbia that 18th January was first time from Second World War that a magazine was burnt in public. Name of magazine is Atheist and publishers are DBPD (Society for Fight Against Society). Željko Rakièeviæ is journalist from local TV Apolo and he did it during news at 10 pm. We believe that fascist-inquisitor methods which propagate mentioned journalist show in a bizarre way what kind of behaviour defendants of religion in Serbia have about people who think different politically. We warn that those who burn newspapers today will be burning people tomorrow. We remind that only inquisition and fascist regimes in last century used such methods to attack people who think differently. We are not surprised that this TV did it because we know that manager of this TV is fascist, but we are surprised that no association of journalists gave a statement breaking of journalist ethics. Collective DBPD, as a collective of left-wing orientation, totally refuse model which is represented by corrupt politicians and their parliamentary calculations, so it is wrong and trumped to mix us with them. With publishing of this magazine DBPD want to propagate freedom of choice, a critical way of thinking and a fight against all attempts to close human mind in any kind of dogma".

Finally, as well the Association of Journalists of Serbia condemned behaviour of TV Apolo after Željko Rakièevic, in front of cameras, burnt example of Atheist, in that way he "showed that he is not agree with hate speech and intolerance, which this magazine propagate in fight against Serbian orthodox church", it is written in statement. "If some magazine propagates hate speech in their fight against organised religion, no one should answer with such behaviour", stated this Association. Editor of TV stated "that burning of it was a symbolic sign that they are not agreed with hate speech". Independent Society of Journalist in Vojvodina (north region, with Novi Sad as capitol city) condemned this behaviour of TV. They say that such behaviour "remind them on some periods in history when literature was burnt, and it was always with the aim to call for lynch of authors and to forbid freedom of thought and of speech".

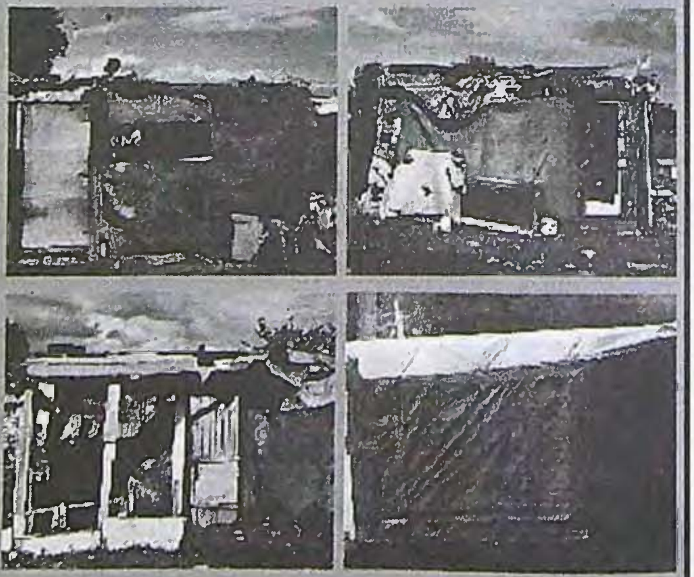
ANARCHISTS COOPERATING

On January 28th a meeting of anarchists was held in Przasnysz, north-east of Poland. Anarchists from Przasnysz, Ciechanow, FA-Plock and FA-Bialystok attended. The goal of the meeting was to create a local network called "Anarchist Cooperation" and to improve communication and cooperation between those cities.

Z.

THOUSANDS OF HOMELESS IN BELGRADE FACING HARD WINTER AGAIN

Belgrade got very cold this winter as well what is very bad for people without roof. About two years ago there were about 2000 homeless (officially) registered in the city. In Kumodraska street, in shelter for homeless, there exists only 100 places and city council plan to build 50 places more in next year. Beside it, it is visible that will not be enough places in relation to needs. But, it does not stop the authorities from building parking for themselves beside city parliament, to spend money to buy cars for themselves, etc. The only one public bathroom exists in the street Cara Dusana, but before one month there was an exhibition of furniture. As ABB-correspondent wrote us: "When I asked them for bathroom (I though it is temporary exhibition), they watched me like an alien and answered that there is no public bathroom". Of course the mentioned number of homeless is basic one, there are much more if one add all people without flat/house...



Belgrade's Homeless

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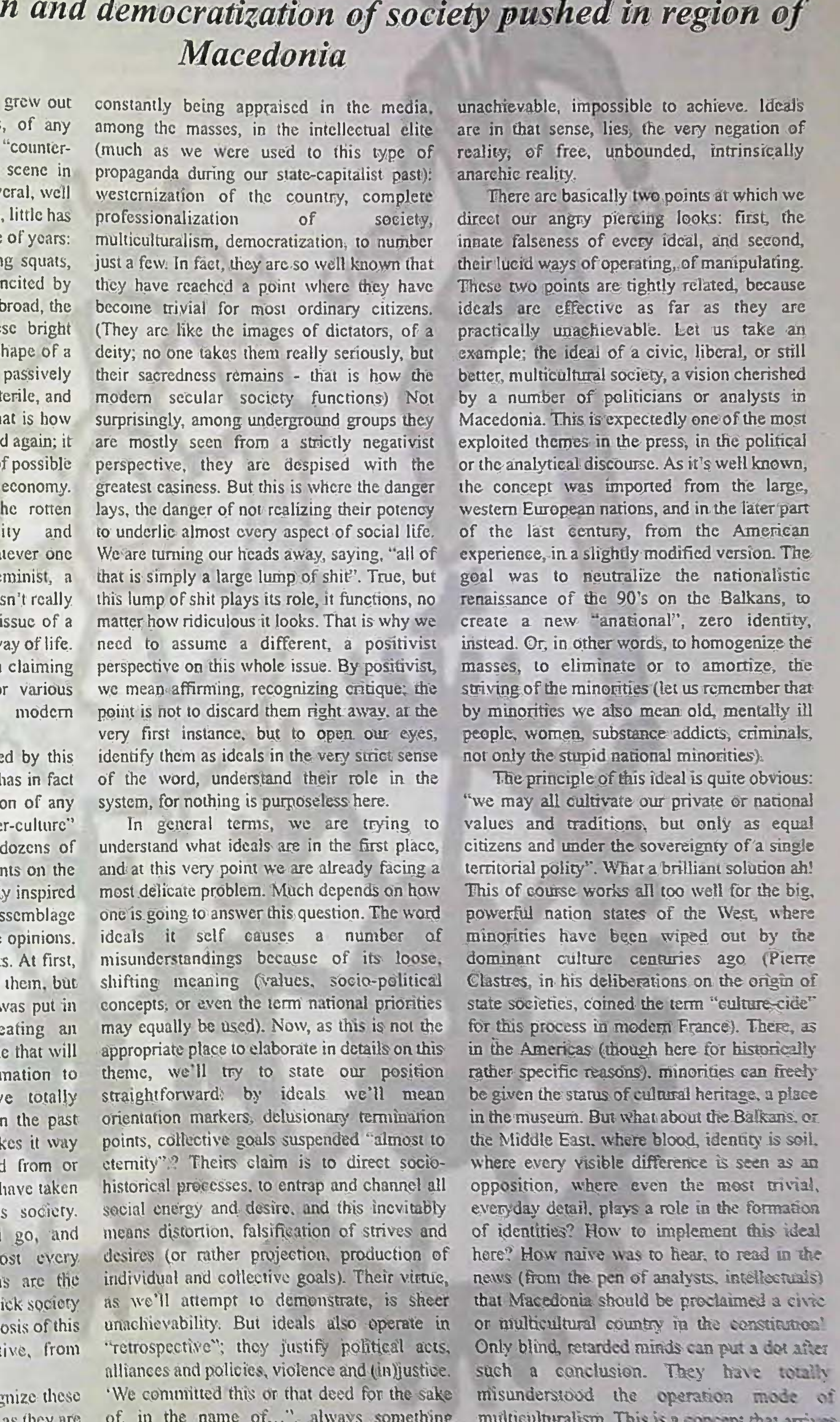
"VENOMOUS IDEALS" AS AN ANTIDOTUM AGAINST THE RE-INTEGRATION INTO THE SYSTEM

Report on multiculturalism and processes of westernization, professionalization and democratization of society pushed in region of Macedonia



The "Venomous Ideals" project grew out of a general lack of perspectives, of any orientation or attitude within the "counter-culture" (what a suspicious term!) scene in Macedonia. For truly, apart from several, well thought and organized, direct actions, little has been demonstrated in the past couple of years: unsuccessful attempts of establishing squats, couple of public protests, mostly incited by some "big news" in the country or abroad, the anti-border camp...In between these bright events, the scene vegetates, in the shape of a more or less conformist life-styles, passively survives under the safety shield of sterile, and often very suspicious ideologies. That is how it re-integrates in the system, time and again; it becomes an article in the repertoire of possible life-styles, a part of the consumer's economy. Thus, it directly contributes to the rotten liberalist concepts of diversity and multiculture: one may become whatever one wishes, an anti-war activist, a feminist, a straightedge or simply a punk. It doesn't really matter, as long as this remains an issue of a private choice, a private or a group way of life. Mainstream analysts are right when claiming that the growth of sub-cultures or various movements strengthens the modern democratic society.

So, we were primarily motivated by this horrible passivity of the minds that has in fact caused that vulgar commercialization of any revolutionary attempt. The "counter-culture" has been tamed, fragmented into dozens of "sub-cultures", that are but ornaments on the body of society. But we were directly inspired by the written media, that massive assemblage of stupidity, proliferation of humble opinions, disgusting affairs and advertisements. At first, we wanted no more than to parody them, but then a much more ambitious plan was put in perspective. We thought of creating an antipode of the newspaper, a fanzine that will reduce all those countless information to several major themes that have totally preoccupied Macedonian society in the past decade and a half. For all that makes it way through the news can be deduced from or related to some of these ideals that have taken a complete possession over this society. Affairs and scandals come and go, and opinions are changing at almost every disturbing instance, what remains are the values, the ideal concepts that this sick society generates. We want to make a diagnosis of this society, from our own perspective, from below.

It takes no great effort to recognize these ideals, to isolate and criticize them, as they are constantly being appraised in the media, among the masses, in the intellectual elite (much as we were used to this type of propaganda during our state-capitalist past): westernization of the country, complete professionalization of society, multiculturalism, democratization, to number just a few. In fact, they are so well known that they have reached a point where they have become trivial for most ordinary citizens. (They are like the images of dictators, of a deity; no one takes them really seriously, but their sacredness remains - that is how the modern secular society functions) Not surprisingly, among underground groups they are mostly seen from a strictly negativist perspective, they are despised with the greatest easiness. But this is where the danger lays, the danger of not realizing their potency to underlie almost every aspect of social life. We are turning our heads away, saying, "all of that is simply a large lump of shit". True, but this lump of shit plays its role, it functions, no matter how ridiculous it looks. That is why we need to assume a different, a positivist perspective on this whole issue. By positivist, we mean affirming, recognizing critique; the point is not to discard them right away, at the very first instance, but to open our eyes, identify them as ideals in the very strict sense of the word, understand their role in the system, for nothing is purposeless here.

In general terms, we are trying to understand what ideals are in the first place, and at this very point we are already facing a most delicate problem. Much depends on how one is going to answer this question. The word ideals it self causes a number of misunderstandings because of its loose, shifting meaning (values, socio-political concepts, or even the term national priorities may equally be used). Now, as this is not the appropriate place to elaborate in details on this theme, we'll try to state our position straightforward: by ideals we'll mean orientation markers, delusionary termination points, collective goals suspended "almost to eternity"? Theirs claim is to direct socio-historical processes, to entrap and channel all social energy and desire, and this inevitably means distortion, falsification of strives and desires (or rather projection, production of individual and collective goals). Their virtue, as we'll attempt to demonstrate, is sheer unachievability. But ideals also operate in "retrospective"; they justify political acts, alliances and policies, violence and (in)justice. 'We committed this or that deed for the sake of, in the name of...", always something unachievable, impossible to achieve. Ideals are in that sense, lies, the very negation of reality, of free, unbounded, intrinsically anarchic reality.

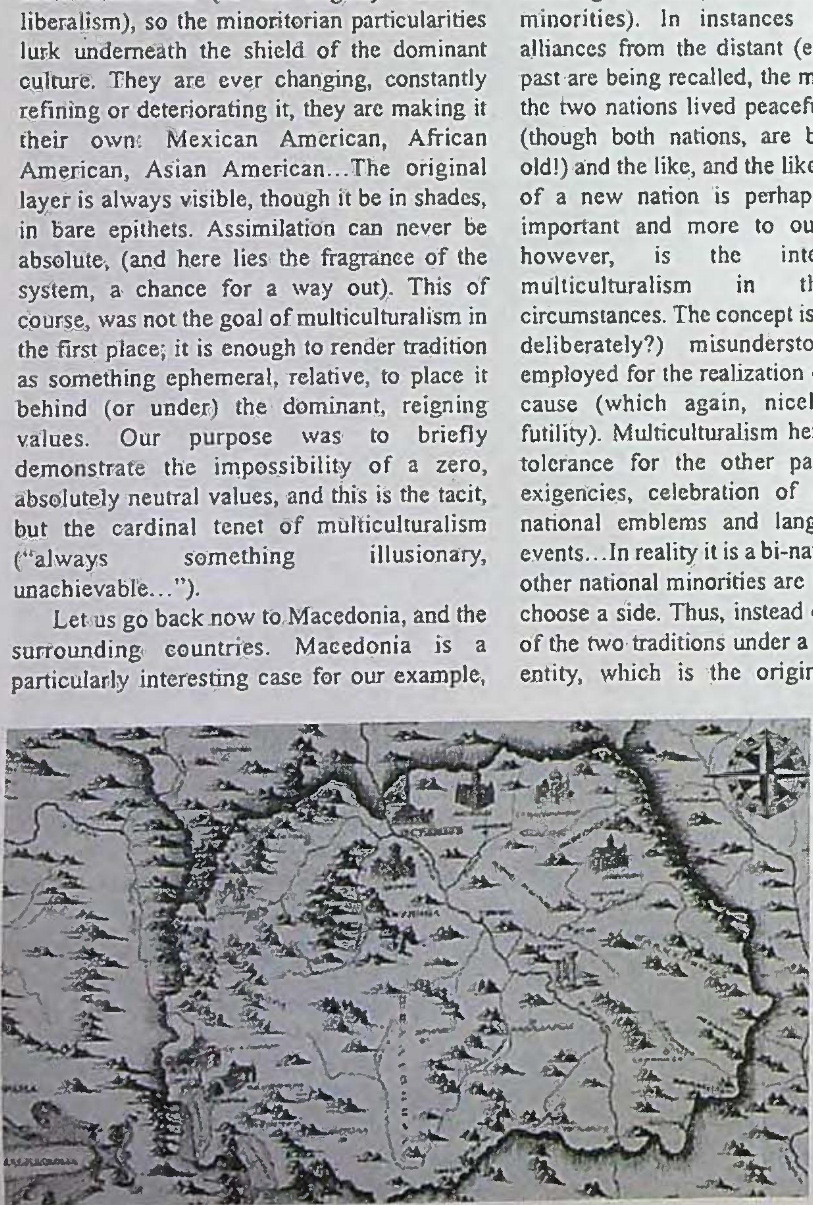
There are basically two points at which we direct our angry piercing looks: first, the innate falseness of every ideal, and second, their lucid ways of operating, of manipulating. These two points are tightly related, because ideals are effective as far as they are practically unachievable. Let us take an example; the ideal of a civic, liberal, or still better, multicultural society, a vision cherished by a number of politicians or analysts in Macedonia. This is expectedly one of the most exploited themes in the press, in the political or the analytical discourse. As it's well known, the concept was imported from the large, western European nations, and in the later part of the last century, from the American experience, in a slightly modified version. The goal was to neutralize the nationalistic renaissance of the 90's on the Balkans, to create a new "anational", zero identity, instead. Or, in other words, to homogenize the masses, to eliminate or to amortize, the striving of the minorities (let us remember that by minorities we also mean old, mentally ill people, women, substance addicts, criminals, not only the stupid national minorities).

The principle of this ideal is quite obvious: "we may all cultivate our private or national values and traditions, but only as equal citizens and under the sovereignty of a single territorial polity". What a brilliant solution ah! This of course works all too well for the big, powerful nation states of the West, where minorities have been wiped out by the dominant culture centuries ago (Pierre Clastres, in his deliberations on the origin of state societies, coined the term "culture-cide" for this process in modern France). There, as in the Americas (though here for historically rather specific reasons), minorities can freely be given the status of cultural heritage, a place in the museum. But what about the Balkans, or the Middle East, where blood, identity is soil, where every visible difference is seen as an opposition, where even the most trivial, everyday detail, plays a role in the formation of identities? How to implement this ideal here? How naive was to hear, to read in the news (from the pen of analysts, intellectuals) that Macedonia should be proclaimed a civic or multicultural country in the constitution! Only blind, retarded minds can put a dot after such a conclusion. They have totally misunderstood the operation mode of multiculturalism. This is a concept that arrives only in the aftermath, at the end, when the victorious party has won indisputably, and all minorities have been vanquished, or nearly destroyed. For zero identity is a fairytale, it simply cannot possible exist, though it stubbornly aspires to universality (the paradox of every ideal). When a minoritorian tradition is eliminated or rather suffocated, the subjects do not disappear, they are instead, given another identity, that of the victorious majority. In the United States, the Africans, the Asians, the Hindu have become Americans, and we know what in essence lies under the term "American": the white, Anglo-Saxon, capitalist male. That is their zero-identity, the Universal Man (even the woman is a hu-man). In Germany, a little Kurdish boy wants to speak German fluently, wants to dress up like the other kids, wants to marry a German girl…Not so long ago, the French language and literature was the language and literature of the World, of Humanity; now, it is the Anglo-American…It is easy to recognize the old imperialist concept, sold under a new brand name, modified and reformed (for the global market, market for political ideals and strategies, the market of global culture).

But it is difficult to fully eradicate traditions, and just as one can see the old imperialist interests under the new banner of multiculturalism (or the slightly outdated liberalism), so the minoritorian particularities lurk underneath the shield of the dominant culture. They are ever changing, constantly refining or deteriorating it, they are making it their own: Mexican American, African American, Asian American…The original layer is always visible, though it be in shades, in bare epithets. Assimilation can never be absolute, (and here lies the fragrance of the system, a chance for a way out). This of course, was not the goal of multiculturalism in the first place; it is enough to render tradition as something ephemeral, relative, to place it behind (or under) the dominant, reigning values. Our purpose was to briefly demonstrate the impossibility of a zero, absolutely neutral values, and this is the tacit, but the cardinal tenet of multiculturalism ("always something illusionary, unachievable…").

Let us go back now to Macedonia, and the surrounding countries. Macedonia is a particularly interesting case for our example, because it is a fresh nation-state, and most of all, because there is a relative balance of power between the dominant national identities, the Macedonian and the Albanian. (In the other countries of the region, with the exception of the Bosnian federation, the good old European recipe was – or is just being – applied: genocide, assimilation first, then we can built a happy, multicultural society.) To be sure, here the ideal of a multicultural society was just recently imported; it still needs to fight the old nationalistic ideals. Nevertheless, it has been utilized by both sides, mostly for their own nationalist sakes, but also as a mode of finding truce, maintaining the balance. Thus, ironically, the very practice of nationalistic politics in this country has plainly demonstrated the empty (but efficient) nature of the concept of multiculturalism (its very supposed opponent!!!).

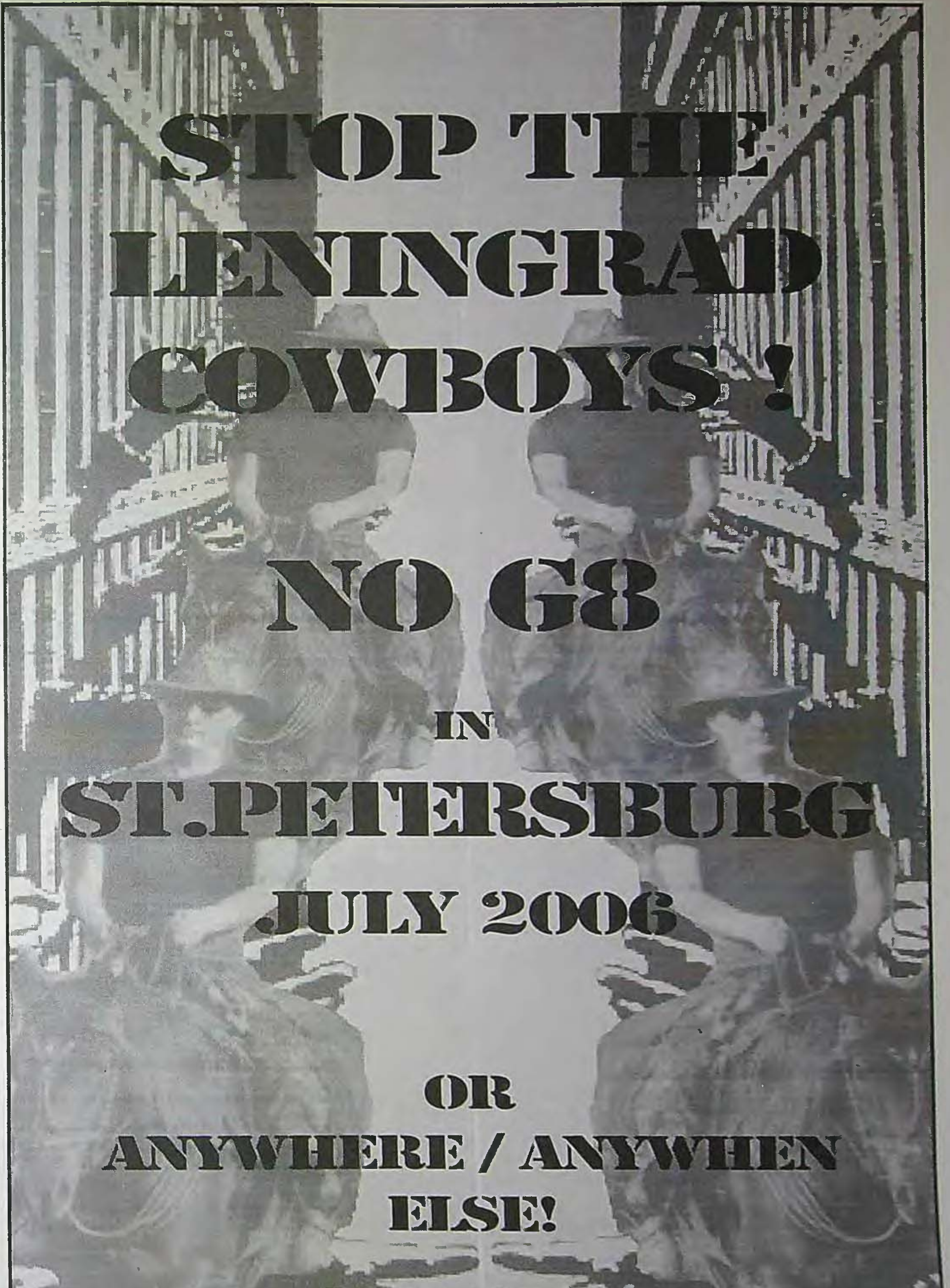
Both, politicians and the masses, quickly realized that the prospect of molding the Macedonian and the Albanian entities into one is next to impossible. None of the sides would give up their almost opposing values, but there were attempts of finding a common ground. Especially when some of the neighboring polities is about to be confronted, or with regards to the rest of the minorities (the Roma, the Vlachs, the Turks…no party is even thinking of other, subnational, "aterritorial" minorities). In instances such as those, alliances from the distant (even the ancient) past are being recalled, the mythic time when the two nations lived peacefully side by side (though both nations, are barely a century old!) and the like, and the like. A dim prospect of a new nation is perhaps arising! More important and more to our present point however, is the interpretation of multiculturalism in this particular circumstances. The concept is completely (and deliberately?) misunderstood, or rather employed for the realization of the nationalist cause (which again, nicely uncovers its futility). Multiculturalism here simply means tolerance for the other party's nationalist exigencies, celebration of national heroes, national emblems and language, historical events…In reality it is a bi-nationalism, for the other national minorities are left the option to choose a side. Thus, instead of amalgamation of the two traditions under a single, "neutral" entity, which is the original goal of the multicultural ideal, in Macedonia we have a cultural alloy, the opposing elements exist side by side, and constantly struggle to overthrow or regain the balance. For instance, the Macedonian party often stresses the needs of the rest of the national or religious minorities, but only to make the position of the Albanian block relative, of an equal importance as the other minorities. And when the Albanian party puts forward its nationalist demands, it is always in the name of a multicultural, diverse society!



Much to the disgrace of intellectuals and political analysts, the pig-like nationalist politicians and demagogues have better understood the efficiency of this ideal, and are making a good use of it. Now, some of the most radical nationalists in the country have proclaimed themselves the great patrons of multiculturalism and inter-ethnical understanding. Others will surely follow, though there is still a great distrust as with anything novel. Sooner or later, the old nationalist concept will be outdated, strategically unsustainable, but it'll survive within the bosom of the new ideal of multiculturalism. (How boringly sad is to read an analyst, hear a member of the parliament saying: "I firmly believe that this law, or that constitutional act will definitely settle our inter-ethnic problems." The ideal is a pool of wishes). No idyllic co-existence will ever happen between nationalistic subjects, and we saw that multiculturalism was born where there is but a single subject.

In short, this is the kind of analysis we're preparing: unmasking the ideal, demonstrate its unatainability, but also demonstrate, or at least think about its consequences, its practical implications. We decided the case of multiculturalism would be a convenient example; it is an ideal (as they were defined earlier), a trick and a powerful political tool, applicable in various circumstances and constellations. We thought of devoting at least one issue for each of these "grand themes" of contemporary Macedonian society (and we think, some of them will be relevant for other Eastern European countries as well): the NATO-EU application, the myth of political leadership, of absolutely democratic elections, the compatibility of corporate capitalism and equal economic prosperity, the compatibility of small scale capitalism and revolutionary activities…Our purpose is two-fold: to create a body of critique, founded on firm, specific grounds, and to animate the dissatisfied circles, to make them assume an attitude, a stance. Actually, the latter aim is even more important considering the dwindling, the complete decadence of critical theory among underground groups. We called it an attempt for auto-positioning, of defining our perspective against the current system, and even inciting a debate within the groups that oppose this system. Both are equally important, because two dangers are threatening to us: a tendency to cluster, to disappear under the cover of an ideologically oriented movement, and from the other side, the grim perspective of a private life, with its idiocy and humbleness.

By Damjan


STOP THE
LENINGRAD
COWBOYS!
NO G8
IN
ST.PETERSBURG
JULY 2006
OR
ANYWHERE / ANYWHEN
ELSE!

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

SERBIA

CONDITIONS IN BELGRADE'S PRISONS

Belgrade - More than 300 disgusted people in Belgrade's district prison stopped yesterday their hunger strike, started because of bad life conditions. Still it is not clear why they stopped with strike. Because they accepted explanation of the administration for such conditions, or because they got threatened that special police forces will come to stop their strike... It is obvious, that they will have to wait for their demands to be complete. One lawyer said, his client told him: "we were hungry for nothing".

The imprisoned refused to have lunch and dinner on Sunday and they said, that they will continue so till they get better conditions. They complained on very bad air in cells, where more people than supposed are being squeezed into, on lack of warm water, short walks and they demanded a TV in every cell. Dr Borisav Mariæ, chef in Department of Justice, who controls the situation in prisons, said that the prisoners' demands are right and that they understand nervousness of the imprisoned people. In many cells there are twice as many people as it should be, so in one cell instead of 7 there are 15 prisoners. We don't have the possibilities to transfer imprisoned to other places, because other prisons are full too - says Mariæ. He adds, that the basic problem last years was lack capacity. Criminality has increased so has the number of imprisoned. Four years ago were 5-6 000 people in prisons, today more than 8000. Therefore it is happening, that some rights of prisoners are limited, like walks last 15 or 20 minutes instead of 30. If such trend is continues, we will have troubles - says Mariæ. He says, that Serbia needs at least 3 prisons, every for 300 persons. One new prison is being built in Pozarevac and we are planning to build 2 new near to Belgrade - he said.

Chef of the district prison in Belgrade, Dragan Miciæ, said for Blic that newspapers made sensation from this happening and that the situation now is normal. He added, that he visited cells where people strike and he explained them the reasons for such conditions in prisons.

Lawyer of one of the imprisoned person, who wanted to stay anonym, said that his client complained to him that administration extortionate prisoners. "He told me that administration threatened them with special forces". One more lawyer said a similar story, his client was threatened with limitation of lawyer's visits. Lawyer says that administration has no right to do it and they could have to face the consequences of it.

By Sasha – Belgrade

TURKEY

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS NEED OUR SUPPORT

Sivas Military Court overruled Military Court of Appeal decision on Mehmet Tarhan

by War Resisters' International, London, 15 December 2005

On 15th of December the Military Court of Sivas overruled the Military Court Appeal decision (see co alert 3 November 2005 http://wri-irg.org/news/alerts/msg00049.html). The Sivas Military Court still stick with their former decision of four years of imprisonment for Mehmet Tarhan. The case is to be sent back to the Military Court of Appeal again. This time the case will be considered at the General Board of Appeals which is composed of all the presidents of the Appeal Courts.

The Public Prosecutor, regarding the recommendation from the Military Court of Appeal to force Tarhan to have a physical examination to determine whether he was gay and therefore unfit for the military service, said at court, "Homosexuality can not be determined via physical examination and that forced physical examination violated a person's bodily integrity."

Also the Public Prosecutor said that trying someone twice for the same crime was ridiculous.

Mehmet Tarhan's lawyer tried to bring the case back to the issue of conscientious objection, instead of the homosexuality issue but today's court decision didn't take into consideration what was said either by the Public Prosecutor or by Mehmet's lawyer.

The court said that they are sticking to their former decision. Mehmet Tarhan's lawyer will appeal the case again.

Mehmet Tarhan had been arrested in Izmir on 8 April 2005, and has by now been charged twice with "insubordination in front of his unit" At a trial on 12 July 2005, the two separate cases of insubordination had been joined, and were then tried together.

Tarhan had been on a first hunger strike from 25 May to 21 June 2005, to protest against maltreatment and the authorities' inability to protect him in prison. He ended his hunger strike after 28 days, after the prison authorities accepted his demands (see co-alert, 22 June 2005). Tarhan had been briefly released from military prison following a trial session on 9 June 2005 (see co-alert, 22 June 2005), but had been brought back to his military unit, where he was again given a military order, which he refused. This lead to the second charge, and a second trial on 12 July, where the decision was taken to join the two cases.

War Resisters' International will continue to monitor the case.

War Resisters' International calls for the immediate release of Mermet Tarhan and all other imprisoned conscientious objectors.

Javier Garate
War Resisters' International

POLAND

Tomasz Wilkoszewski, longest

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Polish antifa prisoner was just refused early release from prison. His next parole board will be in spring, we will start spreading appeals of supports that you can send to Polish authorities that could possibly help to affect pigs from court to release him earlier. He still has to serve five more years.

Anarchist greetings

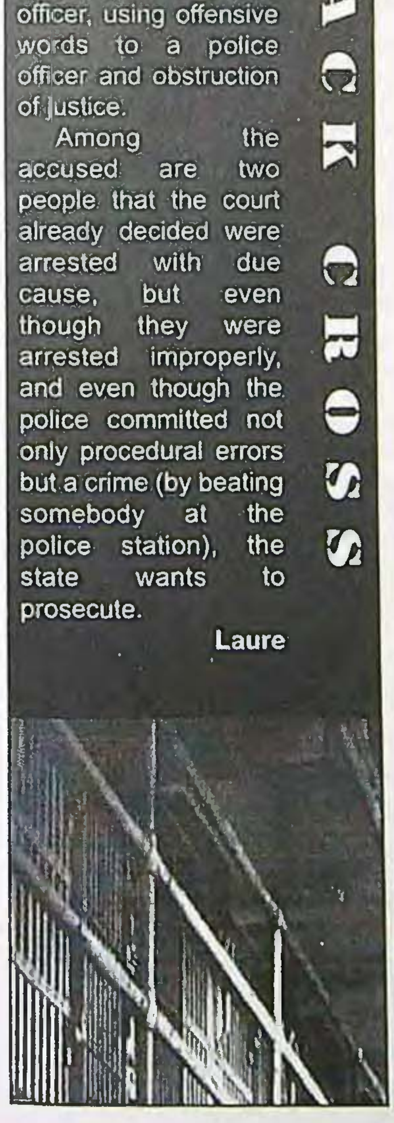
abc bialystok

WARSAW SUMMIT ARRESTS APRIL 2005 - 10 PEOPLE CALLED TO COURT

Ten people who were arrested during the Council of Europe Summit protest in Warsaw last April have received court dates on charges like touching a police officer, using offensive words to a police officer and obstruction of justice.

Among the accused are two people that the court already decided were arrested with due cause, but even though they were arrested improperly, and even though the police committed not only procedural errors but a crime (by beating somebody at the police station), the state wants to prosecute.

Laure



@-SQUATTERS DIALOGUE

THE STORY OF GALLERY SQUAT IN ST.PETERSBURG (AUTUMN 2005)

Information provided by activists from Punk Revival (http://pv.mahost.org)

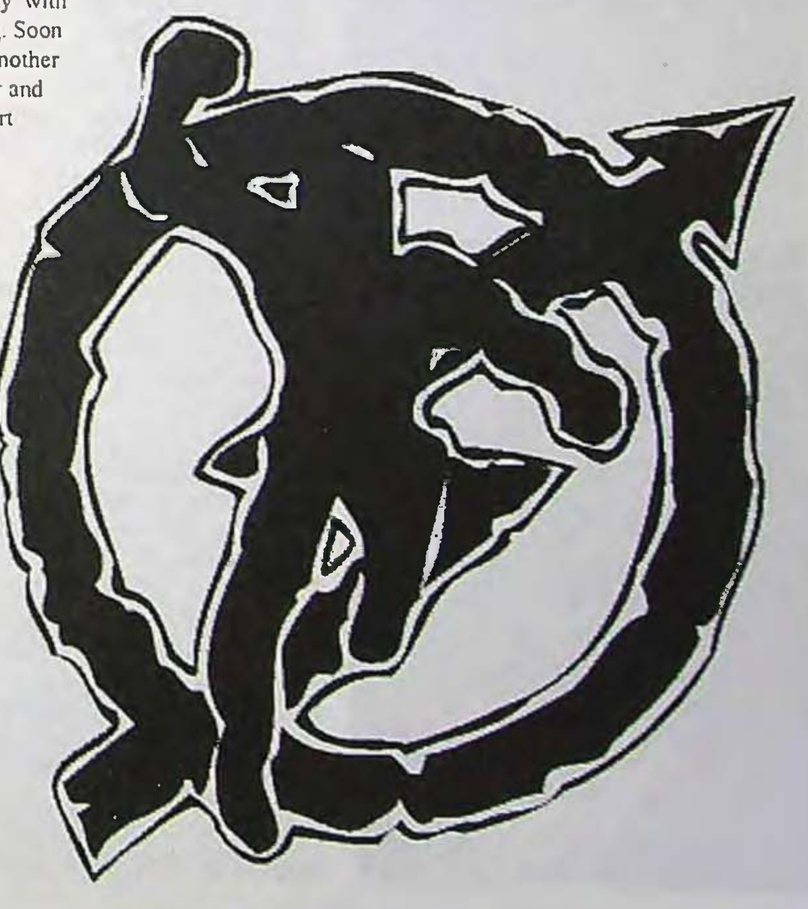
The fall of Vedro squat didn't stop the Petersburg anarchist squatters from attempts to find a new place. An house in the northern part of the town that seemed abandoned was found, but it was impossible to get inside - all doors were firmly closed, and it was kind of dirty anyway. But some local woman showed the squatters a part of another house which was empty and a number of flats there that could be used for living. The door to one flat was broken with the help of some local worker who also explained how to deal with water supply. So, many thanx go to local people for their help. There were already some people in the house, who lived in flats which they squatted in the same manner - some runaway criminal and some guy with his girlfriend and a dog. Soon anarchists took over another flat which was a better and cleaner one. Many art supplies (paintings etc.) were found on the place so the squat got named Gallery.

A new lock was installed into the door, some tables and beds were brought from nearby rubbish heaps - and the life in the squat began. The skinheads fixed the electricity, and getting water was no problem as well - it was just running from tap as in usual flats. The windows were covered by cardboard - so that no one could see what's happening inside from the ordinary houses around. The local squatters rules - security - secrecy - water - electricity - food was obeyed, so Gallery became a good home for people living or staying there. Of course, there were meetings of anarchists / anarcho-punks / alterglobalists inside. The biggest meeting was before the antifascist action on the 4th of November - about 40 people were present. The squat helped to somehow unite people with different backgrounds - anarcho-punks, antifascist skins, hardcore-punk kids etc. As usual, people from other towns could find a place to stay in the squat.

In late November or so the temperature inside became really low - the DIY heating devices could not make the air warm enough anymore. The water in the pipes in the toilet and in the kitchen became ice.

"Tashkent" types of beds were used for sleeping - a heater covered with some turned over bookcase or furniture like that. There was also another danger – the threat of nazis. They attacked one comrade in the subway, beating him and yelling something like "you bitches! we know where you live, homeless scum". So the squatters decided to leave Gallery. When they came back there some days after, they saw that someone tried to break in - the door was slightly damaged, but the lock was okay. Stairs in the staircase were also crumbled - as if the boneheads were biting them with their teeth or beating them with their heads.

In the end of December the punks celebrated "anti-New Year" inside the squat and left the place forever. Anyway, search for a new place will be started in spring. So up the squatters worldwide!



PEELING POTATOES - ANARCHIST ACTIVISM OR CHARITABLE GESTURE? (PART 2)

In the previous issue of ABB we already presented two interviews with Food Not Bombs groups from Kiev (Ukraine) and Warsaw (Poland). Just to remind you, we decided on these presentations as we realised that there was an increasing number of FNB actions around whole Eastern Europe in last months. We consider this fact as interesting, significant and worth being explored. We asked ourselves why in all these places where there are just a handful of libertarian activists have they decided to focus on exactly this kind of action? Is the growing poverty in the whole region the main and only reason for it? What perspectives are these groups trying to develop? What are the differences between East European FNB and those in the States? And finally: what is the relation of the anarchist concept of inspiring individuals to undertake action by themselves, and the charitable character of FNB activity?

In this issue the FNB group from Belgrade give their opinions to similar questions we already asked activists from Kiev and Warsaw. And still, we would like to encourage the members of other FNB groups around EE to contact us in the next weeks/months if they would like to give a voice on this topic. Finally, as we already stressed in the previous issue, it's all about constructive self-criticism in order to continuously improve our daily activism towards a free anarchist society where sharing the food doesn't need to take a character of political action but being completely common daily practice of everyone for everyone. ***AbolishingBB***

INTERVIEW WITH PEOPLE FROM SUBWAR COLLECTIVE FROM BELGRADE (SERBIA) TOWARDS THEIR FOOD NOT BOMBS ACTIVITY

Where did you first hear about FNB?

We can't really remember when exactly, but it was around ten years ago, in '96/'97 from some fanzines...

What was the final inspiration for you to start the Food Not Bombs activity in your city?

It is important to say that we are not a Food Not Bombs collective, such a thing doesn't exist here, but a lot of different groups and individuals were/are involved in FNB actions from time to time, on different occasions, and it's the same with us. FNB is not a priority for SUBWAR COLLECTIVE, it's only one of our activities (we are involved in organizing concerts, exhibitions, distribution, doing artworks, screen printing, street actions, etc...). We organized FNB action on the 16th of October 2002 for the first time, in Belgrade, because we thought that day was a good opportunity for such a thing, as contrast to McDonald's' food and politics. It was a good way to approach people, talk to them, give them some leaflets with information about McDonald's and multinational corporations in general, and the whole disastrous politics and consequences of the same, behind their food production. On the other hand, that was, as well, a good chance to feed some poor and homeless people of the streets of Belgrade whose numbers are getting bigger and bigger. Before this, we were involved in FNB actions in Croatia and Romania, where we got inspired to start the same thing here.

With what frequency do you conduct your action? What are the places you serve the food? How many people make use of it? How do you finance it?

As we are not FNB collective, unfortunately we are not doing FNB actions on regular bases. The frequency depends on other activities in town, because FNB usually goes together with them. So it is more or less often for different reasons. Each 16th of October, the action takes place in front of the biggest McDonald's restaurant in the center of Belgrade, but on other occasions we were/are doing it on some other locations in the town. First time we did FNB action, people were totally surprised and suspicious towards free food, and they didn't believe there is still something they can get for free, so around 40-50 people came along. Some were homeless, but the most of them were passersby. Nowadays there are many more people taking meals, and we think we did reach the target group of people, at least a bit. But, we have to say that FNB actions in Belgrade are rather symbolic, because we are facing couple of problems. Major problem is that there is no FNB collective in Belgrade who would dedicate themselves only to these actions, we are all doing it as only one part of our activity, so since they are not regular, we cannot expect the group of people the food was made for in the first place, to be steady, as we don't know when and where we gonna do it again. The other problem is that Belgrade is a city of almost 3 million people, so one collective wouldn't be able to cover the whole population of poor and homeless, even if there were actions twice a day. Finances are also big problem, as here in the east we don't have skips full of food that can be used; we simply have to buy everything we need for the action (except for bread, which we managed to get for free since the first action) so this is another reason for not doing it on the regular basis.

What are the reactions of the authorities towards your activity?

The way things are here is that for every street action you have to get permission from the local police, if you really want the action to take place and to come to an end without being interrupted by the cops. To get the permission itself is not a problem, but for us, just the fact that we have to do it, is controversial. On the other hand if that's the only way to do it without troubles and to reach our goal, we accept it as the way it has to be. Once we tried to avoid the registration, but the action was stopped by the police soon after it had begun, so we gave up the idea to do it illegally.

Except the fact of "giving-taking the food" – does it come to any other inter-action between you and the "consumers"? What kind of inter-action are they?

Yes, of course, that's one of the aims at the end, to have some social interaction with the people who are taking the food. Considering the fact that our FNB actions are rather symbolic, the major aim we achieve is exactly that interaction. We always give away leaflets with basic information about FNB, McDonald's and multinationals and their effects on people's lives; we talk to the people, trying to make them aware of things that influence their lives that sometimes they cannot see and what the possible alternatives are. Some of them are willing to talk while they are eating, some of them are not interested at all, and some just want the food to feed their hungry stomachs, and they cannot think any further than that, because their main worry is to find food for the day. They cannot afford the luxury of thinking about long period changes - they need something NOW, and that's what we give them - FOOD. We are always sad to tell them we don't know when we will be back again, with the food, because we see how thankful they are. Usually, their first thought is that we are in front of some political party, and that we only want their votes; once they find out we are not, they are really surprised how we manage to cook, to bring food to the place, etc… and why we are doing it…

What is your GOAL by putting your energy into this kind of activity?

Our main goal is to let people know some facts that are relevant for their lives, some facts about the causes of main world problems and how that directly affects their lives, to try to make them think about all those things and not just surrender and float on the surface, without thinking about the real faces of the institutions, politicians and everybody else who's controlling their lives- we want them to start taking control over their own lives as much as possible. We want to let them know that everything in this world is connected and that some shit happening somewhere else is not separated from the shit happening here. Giving free food to the people is a good way of doing that, because the contact is closer, you are directly showing one of the alternatives by setting the example what can be done and how; if you are open towards them, they feel more relaxed and can ask whatever they are interested in.Other aim is, of course, to feed the poor and hungry, but, again, not doing it on regular bases doesn't help much reaching that goal.Both goals are long term ones, and it will take a lot of time and energy to achieve them. But if only one person is reached so far, that's enough energy to keep us moving on towards another action.

Taking into consideration that one of the most crucial tasks of anarchists is to inspire people to take the initiative into their own hands (at best in a collective way), how can the FNB action be seen as the activity aiming towards this goal? Is it anyhow "inspiring" for the people getting use to charitable aim? Is it anyhow "inspiring" for you to see people getting used to get things for free but not making an impression of wishing to change anything by themselves?

Showing the real example that you can provide up to 100 meals on your own without needing any support from this or that institution is a good starting point for the people to see that they have lots of power to do things themselves. Also, very important for them, is to see what a big thing you can do (such as feeding 100 people is) without that much effort. Well, the energy you put in it is not small, but if you compare that with what you get at the end, you come to the point that it's not comparable at all.So, basically, FNB can be stimulating for the people to see that there are lots of other initiatives, as well, that they can do on their own and which are on the other hand is a big help for the people of the community.Food problem is, in general, big problem in Belgrade, so, as we have already said, it's not very expected that people will think much about changing anything, doing anything on their own, or organizing themselves, or so, because the only way some of them can think is through their stomachs. It's not maybe very inspiring for us (even though it's good to see you can at least help someone satisfy his/her basic needs), but you can't expect much of thinking about taking control of her life from an old lady who is shaking from cold and hunger, asking us to put small pieces of bread in her plate with cooked meal, because she can not do it on her own. Even such a "small" thing like that makes you satisfied and you think you have achieved a big thing. Lots of FNB and similar actions have to be done, before we can expect from people to look any deeper into the problems and start taking control over at least small parts of their lives. But, that's way we are here to keep doing things.

Where do you see the differences between FNB activity and the charitable support to the poor conducted by the church?

Here, in this country, we are not facing much of a church support to the poor: the church here is busy with politics, taking power and keeping people ignorant and submissive by bringing on more nationalism and hate so that it can control them easier. The church doesn't show its fake charitable face towards the poor much here, it's more typical for the Catholic Church. But, the difference exists, of course, and it is big! While church offers them some "help", it's only to calm them down, and keep them under control, without presenting the real cause of the problems, not to talk about offering them any solution other than – Go to church and pray to the god, you'll have everything once you reach him! We are trying to get people to confront the faces of the happy clowns and the problems they are causing, as well as trying to let them know the possible solutions and the ways they can get involved in their own lives, rather than watching somebody else being in charge of them. Through actions like FNB we are trying to move them to become active part of their own community, while the church is actually buying them through food to stay even more passive.

Do you know that some people (and we are not speaking of any yuppies but proletarian or even libertarian persons) told us that they don't like to approach the FNB even if they are hungry and without any money, because they feel the strong mental block towards situation in which they feel like reaching the very bottom of the society. In other words, one can understand that these people – even if they may sympathize with initiatives like your one - at the same time they consider your efforts as a heavy challenge towards their dignity. What do you think about it?

Well, it's familiar situation we face every time we are doing FNB actions, sometimes more, sometimes less, but there are always people whose pride just doesn't let them approach the table. Those are usually working class people who had had much better lives in this country once, but have now reached the bottom of society. They can not accept the situation they are in; they will rather suffer in private than show that they are hungry. But people who have always been poor and on the street have not that kind of problem, because they have never had the chance to build their own dignity, so if they are around, they will always come. Of course those divisions are not that strict, nothing is just black and white. There are exceptions on both sides.

As we are not specific FNB collective, we are discussing all problematic connected with FNB-actions only as much as we can.

We wish you realization of your political dreams through your activism. Anything to be add?

Thanx for the interview! Even though FNB actions are not that often here, we are sure it's worth having Belgrade FNB situation presented in ABB for other people. We are about to start FNB collective in the near future, so there should be more reports coming from us soon…Keep up the fight!

SUBWAR!

LABOUR STRUGGLES

REPRESSIONS AGAINST LABOR ACTIVIST IN IRKUTSK REGION, SIBERIA

On 25th of November 2005 syndicalist activist Alexandr Kolovanov was arrested in Shelekhov town (Irkutsk region, Eastern Siberia) for distributing newspapers on the plant where he works as a founder.

The plant - Irkutsk aluminium plant - is a part of SUAL Holding (Siberia & Ural Aluminium Company).

In May 2005 Kolovanov participated in a conference organised by Siberian Confederation Of Labor (syndicalist union). After that conference he started publishing and distributing a newspaper calling for the creation of independent trade unions. Kolovanov had some experience with samizdat (self-published press) before - while in university he published a zine called "Kuda idesh?" (Where do you go?).

In the morning on 25th of November cops and the plant's security service (their presence of course was illegal) raided Kolovanov's flat, searching for papers. Kolovanov was taken to the police station where they have been interrogating him for 10 hours. Alexandr was there after having worked 3 night shifts so his psychological and mental condition was not very good. The cops and people from FSB (state security service) told him that his case is controlled by the plant's director Igor Grinberg, who is at the same time second main person in the Edinaya Rossiya party (United Russia, Putin's party) in the Irkutsk region. Alexandr was even told that his group can be accused of terrorism. In fact his only "crime" was a wish to create a small independent union and join the Siberian Confederation Of Labor.

The paper published by Kolovanov is called "Shelekhov Worker". There were 400 papers printed, 170 of them were seized by cops and security services.

After getting these news many people and labor organisatons from Russia wrote protest letters to the plant and Shelekhov town administration. Then one of the managers of the plant contacted Kolovanov, asking him to quit the job at his own will (a widespread practice in Russia). Kolovanov refused, then he was told that he will be fired.

After this wave of protest letters the people from FSB quickly told, that they have no pretensions to Kolovanov. The local union activists and some Irkutsk anarchists were supporting Alexandr as well.

At the moment (end of December 2005) it seems that the harassment from cops finished.

The website of Siberian Confederation Of Labour - http://www.skt.org.ru

TWO WEEKS ON HUNGER STRIKE

Prokuplje. After 14 days of hunger strike, ex-worker of post office in the town of Srboljub. Marinkoviæ was transferred in hospital because of damaged health. He began his hunger strike on December 27 2005 in front of District Court of the above-mentioned town, as he said, because of the unjust judgement of the court which refused him the right to go back to work in the post office. In 2002 he was fired because of a reputed fraud of 4 000 Euros. In the meantime, municipal and district courts confirmed decision about misfire. Marinkoviæ says that judges who made such judgement are connected like relatives with director of mentioned post office.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP!

Dariusz Skrzypczak fired!

The management of Jutrzenka - a popular producer of sweets - dismissed Dariusz Skrzypczak, the chairman of Solidarity trade union Poznan's Goplana (from January 2005 owned by Jutrzeka), he was fired on disciplinary grounds for his words published in local press. Although Skrzypczak had only confirmed the fact that Jutrzenka had introduced new conditions of wages, which are unfavourable for most of the workers of Goplana, the management of the plant acknowledged those words as harmful to the company. It is the second attempt to fire Skrzypczak - the first one took place in the beginning of year 2005.

In the middle of December leaflets of another trade union - Workers' Initiative that is active in the factory in secret appeared in the plant, the leaflets were attacking the management of Jutrzenka for an attempt to cut their wages in spite of bringing in high benefits. After Goplana's taking-over benefits of Jutrzenka have significantly increased. The Workers' Initiative have appealed to the staff to prepare to strike and called for general industrial dispute. The information about unrest in the factory got into Poznan's papers.

Just before Christmas, in "Fakty", "Metro" and "Glos Wielkopolski" there have been a paid statement of Jutrzenka published entitled "The truth about Goplana". "We do not want to look for savings in our workers' pockets..." - the president of Jutrzenka, Jan Kolanski, stated. It has been also declared in the statement that the publications in papers "are only misinforming the public opinion and are besmirching the good name of Jutrzenka".

On the 27th of December the chairman of Solidarity trade union in Goplana was informed about the readiness of firing him on the basis of article 52 of employment regulations that is dismissal on disciplinary grounds. This is an attempt to intimidate workers and gagging the mouth of trade unions. The employer want to hit Skrzypczak, because he has a considerable standing amongst the staff, that remembers him from his struggle for workers' rights when the factory was owned by Nestle. The presidium of plant's Solidarity commission did not agree to fire their chairman who is protected by law. That being so, the management of Jutrzenka had decided, in spite of the law, to fire Skrzypczak and on the 29th of December he was given a notice and was forbidden to enter the premises of the factory.

The example of Dariusz Skrzypczak is another example from last period when employer using dismissing on disciplinary grounds tries to remove the unwanted trade unions' activists. Similar examples took place in coal mine "Budryk", where the chairman of Solidarity '80 was dismissed on disciplinary grounds for - as employer sustains - an organizing of an illegal strike or in Grodzisk's factory Frito Lay (owned by PepsiCo), where the management fired on disciplinary grounds the chairman of plant's "Solidarity" Slawomir Zagrajek, who had publicized the case of sexual harrasment on factory's female workers.

More info, solidarity-letters, addresses of responsible bureaucrats, etc on: www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl

Graphics from llbcom.org

REPRESSION AGAINST TRADE UNION ACTIVISTS IN POLAND

In the past months, a number of repressions against inconvenient trade union activists have taken place in Poland. Despite legal protection employers dismiss them on the basis of article 52 of the Labour Code. The article lets to employers break a contract of employment without giving notice to workers only when they heavily violate their duties, commit a crime (when the crime is obvious or is judged by court), or if workers, through their fault, have lost qualifications needed for the job. Heavy violation of worker's duties means for instance drinking in a workplace. In Poland the law protects some trade unionists from dismissals in order to protect them against repressions. It means that an employer must not fire an activist without permission of the committee of the trade union the worker belongs to. Obviously when a unionist really violate the law (for example drinks or steals) the committee usually agrees to dismiss him.

Polish employers often do not obey the legal protection of the unionists and consciously break the law and fire them with the use of disciplinary course. Slow proceedings in court help in such activity. Trials last for many months, while workers do not have work and an income. That makes them give up their struggle, reach a compromise with the employer, take a relatively high compensation or start working in a different workplace - all this causes is that employers continue their exploitation with impunity. In other cases, even if the court decides to restore the employee to work, in the meantime the employer applies repressions against other members of the trade union. Intimidated people under the threat of next dismissals give up their activity in the trade union, which falls apart. So a unionist who legally comes back to the company loses the legal protection and then, without obstacles, the employer fires him. Such behaviour is not only violation of the labour code and act about trade union but also a constitutional right for gatherings in a workplace and for union activity. The cases when it is the state who breaks those rights are especially outrageous (joint-stock companies or state institutions) as that way the state sets a bad example and negative standards for other companies.

Cases of breaking a right for a legal protection:

1. Slawomir Kaczmarek is a chairman of a committee of All-Polish Trade Union Workers' Initiative in the *Uniontex S.P.* company in Lodz. He was fired on December 2004, in spite of the fact that he was legally protected from dismissal. His dismissal was connected with the plan of the management to get rid of workers who have been co-founders of the plant and take over their shares. Uniontex S.P. was found in 2003 as an employee-owned firm, in order to save workplaces when Uniontex S.A.- company of cotton industry - had been closed. The committee of Workers' Initiative was created in the factory on September 2004. The workers, through the trade union, wanted to create a counterbalance toward management to fight against low salaries and to protest against the breaking of the rules of occupational safety and health. Unfortunately management acting illegally decided to fire the chairman of the committee, Slawomir Kaczmarek. The suit has been brought to the Labour Court but is still in progress while Kaczmarek stays unemployed and in a poor financial condition.

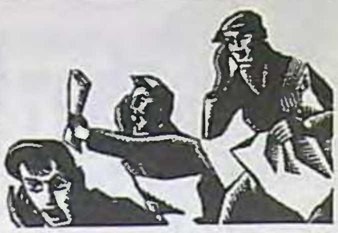
2. On 14th of November two-hour warning strike took place in a coal mine Budryk in Ormontowice organized by "Sierpien 80" ("August 80") trade union. All crew from the first shift took part in the strike. They protested against the management of the mine, that hadn't acknowledged a collective dispute and notoriously avoided taking negotiations with the crew who demanded a raise in salaries and collective litigation. In response the management disciplinary fired 12 unionists of "Sierpien 80" (allegedly for taking part in the "illegal" protest and hunger strike). Some of the 12 fired did not even participate in the protest. The real cause of the dismissal was membership of the "Sieprien 80". Krzysztof Labadz, one of the 12 fired workers, was protected by the law. National Labour Inspectorate has regarded dismissal as blatant violation of the labour code. An application against two members of the management who signed the decision about dismissals has been sent to court.

3. On the basis of the article 52 of labour code the management of the Jutrzenka factory - a popular producer of sweets - has dismissed *Dariusz Skrzypczak*, the chairman of the Solidarity trade union in Goplana company in Poznan (from January 2005 owned by Jutrzenka). He was fired on disciplinary grounds for an interview published in local press. Although Skrzypczak had only confirmed the fact that Jutrzenka had introduced new conditions of wages, which are unfavourable for most of the workers of Goplana, the management of the plant acknowledged the words as harmful to the company. It is the second attempt to fire Skrzypczak - the first one took place at the beginning of year 2005. In the middle of December leaflets were distributed by another trade union - the Workers' Initiative that act in the factory in secret. The leaflets attacked the management of Jutrzenka for an attempt to cut workers' wages in spite of the high profit reached by the factory. When Jutrzenka took over the Goplana, its profit has increased significantly. The Workers' Initiative have appealed to the staff to prepare for a strike and called for a collective industrial dispute. The information about unrest in the factory got into Poznan's papers. On the 27th of December the chairman of Solidarity trade union in Goplana was informed about the readiness of giving him the sack on the basis of article 52. In spite of the law and opposition of the trade union Skrzypczak was fired on the 29th of December and was forbidden to enter the premises of the factory.

4. The management of the Frito Lay factory in Grodzisk owned by *PepsiCo* corporation disciplinary fired a chairmen of "Solidarity" trade union Slawomir Zagrajek. A year before female workers of the factory accused one of the managers of sexual harassment. Women were fired and the "Solidarity" trade union decided to fight for them and publicized the case. The management of PepsiCo stated that no harassment took place, even when a prosecutor claimed that there is enough evidences to raise an accusation of molesting to court. The trial is still in progress. "Solidarity" has accused Frito Lay of violating workers rights many times, some of the accusations were confirmed by the National Labour Inspectorate. The situation between trade union and management was very tense, as long as PepsiCo, with the use of the press, dismissed the inconvenient unionist. He was accused of lying to the members of the union he was head of and of wheedling money out of the company. Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights has stood in defence of Zagrajek.

5. On the 11th of March 2005 Wlodzimierz Golaszewski, a chairmen of the "Solidarnosc 80" ("Solidarity 80") trade union was disciplinary dismissed under the pretext of improper application for a vacation.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND APPEALS



NEW AUTONOMOUS PLACE IN BELGRADE LOOKING FOR INFO-MATERIALS OF ALL KIND !!!

Since we have failed in couple of attempts to keep the squatted places in Belgrade occupied, SUBWAR COLLECTIVE together with some other individuals, bands and friends, have decided to rent a place for different subcultural and libertarian activities. One of the main purposes of that autonomous place is to open an infoshop, as this city doesn't have one.

We ask every group/individual who can and is willing to help us by donating some printed material, like, books, fanzines, pamphlets, posters, etc..., or in any other way. Any help is more than appreciated!

Contact us on this e-mail: shavedwomen216@yahoo.com for the details.

Thanx in advance for your support!

Subwar Collective

CAMPAIGN TO SAVE A NON-PROFIT ALTERNATIVE SOCIO-CULTURAL CENTRE INCA IN TIMISOARA - ROMANIA

Hello international friends of INCA,

This is voice from city of Timisoara, Romania writing on behalf of the INCA Center in Timisoara. INCA stands for International Network of Contemporary Artisans and the Center is the only alternative place of this kind in Romania.

INCA Foundation got a place from the city for a period of 5 years to develop a community center inside a historical part of the city (part of the defence wall of the old fortress of the city). Now after 3 and half years the interests of local mafia have become so high that the pressure that they put on the city to kick us out started to pay results. So, inspectors came, keen on finding stuff that is breaking the contract so that they have a motivation to throw us in the streets earlier so that they can give the building to other people, much richer! Our strong conviction is that this was a deliberate act, and inspectors which came were not interested to find solutions to fix the problems they discovered, they were not interested in finding out if there is another side of the story and so on. They were sent to find a reason to throw us out.

INCA Center is a non-profit, all-volunteer place dedicated to alternative culture. The place has hosted in the past 3 and half years over 150 events: concerts, art exhibitions, projections & movie nights, performance, festivals, etc. also for next year we already have many workshops, conferences, concerts and others planned. If city will evict us, and there is huge chance for this to happen, one of the few alternative places in the region will disappear and will leave us with no place to host all these events. Because we have strong promises that we will never get a second place from the city. Also we know that the only thing that will make the city change their mind is three things:

★ International protests at Romanian embassies and consulates;
★ Strong international and national response through email/fax/phone;
★ The scandal goes to the media;

These are the things that you can help us. No matter if you are a group, a band, or individual, no matter if you are from Romania or elsewhere, no matter if you have visited the place or not, it is all of you the ones that can help this international project in Timisoara. Here are our suggestions:

★ International protests/fax letters embassies and consulates, at city halls with Timisoara has partnership agreements: Faenza (Italy), Gera (Germany), Karlsruhe (Germany), Mulhouse (France), Rueil - Malmaison (France), Szeged (Hungary), Sassari (Italy), Treviso (Italy).

Since December 2006 we lead the campaign under the slogans:

"CINE VREA SA ARUNCE CULTURA IN STRADA?!"
(WHO WANTS TO THROW CULTURE IN THE STREETS?!)
and
"SALVATI CENTRUL CULTURAL INCA TIMISOARA"
(SAVE INCA CULTURAL CENTER TIMISOARA).

Maybe too general... but still is the language the bureaucrats will understand easier.

We started with demand from the city of Timisoara that they should not evict us, until the end of the contract, because we have so many projects and events planned for next year. We wish that they let us stay the remaining 1 and half year, and we ask for a fair judgement at the end of the contract. Underlining the important role INCA has played in development of alternative culture in our city/country/region in last years we hope you will help us with your support to keep this project alive at least another year and half.

Also if possible contact media for your action and it is not needed for huge mobilization, remember is more important that these actions take place, than to loose your time and energy (that you need for your other projects at home). We suggest picket with banners with the 2 slogans and a protest letter handed to the ambassador or consul in which you ask the city of Timisoara not to end the contract with INCA until its end.

In case action can and will be planned also by you, please get in touch so that we can give you more info at next address: inca_tm@yahoo.com

Also send us, pictures, reports and protest letters you have used so we can use it for our campaign here.

For more informations and details contact:
Romania: inca@k.ro
International: inca_tm@yahoo.com

NOBORDER FEST # 2

24-25 March 2006

TIMISOARA, Romania

FINANCIAL SUPPORT NEEDED!

NOBORDERFEST # 2 is a Do-It-Yourself festival including DIY music, independent films and distributors of DIY and political music and literature. We hope this years edition will bring together participants from many eastern european countries: Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Poland, Czech Rep, Slovak Rep, Hungary, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and maybe even Rep of Moldavia.

Event will take place in INCA Cultural Center in Timisoara, city in the west of Romania. Festival will take place in European week of fight against racism. We are still looking for financial support, as there is people in 5 or 6 countries that need to pay visa to come to Romania. So, any help will be welcomed, and those who can organise benefit events can contact us. Also for other details about the festival you can contact us.

A demo is planned also in solidarity with INCA Cultural Center the only alternative project of this kind, which is threatened with eviction by local authorities. Soon we will have a website where you will be able to find more info.

Until then contact:
aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

THE SECOND ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR IN ZAGREB, CROATIA 2006

March 31st - April 2nd, 2006

The Second Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb will take place on March 31st to April 2nd, 2006.

Anarchist Bookfair in Zagreb (ASK - Anarhisticki sajam knjiga) aims to become a long-term, developing project. First bookfair (March 18th to 22nd 2005) went well, and we hope to bring in more and more people every year as participants, publishers, groups, projects - whoever is interested in what the bookfair has to offer.

ASK will take place in Zagreb every spring, as a local resource for anarchist and libertarian books and other publications. We also aim to open discussion on subjects that are important for the anarchist movement, or for our local community.

The idea for such a bookfair is not new, but is based on the positive experience of other Anarchist Bookfairs. In many different situations, these bookfairs have proven to be important events and meeting places on both local and international levels.

This is why we need your help - come and support this event with solidarity and participation!

Participation

To help us organize the Bookfair and finish the program on time, we need you to confirm your participation soon as possible. Our e-mail address is: ask-zagreb@net.hr.

Get in touch and let us know in which way you would like to participate.

Here are a few questions, and we welcome any additional information. Also, let us know if you need accommodation. There are a few alternatives, but we need all the details as soon as possible.

Some of the details that we need from you:

1. Questions for all guests coming from outside Zagreb:
★ how you want to participate?
★ do you need help with accommodation (Free sleeping places are limited, but we can help you find cheap accommodation. There are few hostels in Zagreb, we can provide some more info on booking, prices, etc.)

2. If you would like a booth:
★ how big of a booth do you need?
★ do you need help at your booth?
★ can you help with the costs of the Bookfair? (This is not a condition to have a booth.)
★ we need some basic information about you (contact, what books/publishers you distribute [not list, just short info]...)

We plan to publish program of the bookfair beginning of March. Please, send all info that you want to be included before.

For more information:
web: www.ask-zagreb.org
e-mail: ask-zagreb@net.hr

ANTI-FASCIST NEWS

NAZI´S COLOMBOS

Nazis from militant (and still more and more virtual) group Narodni Odpor reacted in a few days; they took the nickname of one of its author, "googled" it, took the first guy Google gave back and wrote a bombastic article about their fabulous detective work, they found the main guy in the AFA!! The only problem is that the above mentioned guy, Jewish and student, has nothing to do with the AFA and he is not interested in politics at all. When AFA people wrote him an e-mail, he started to defend himself on the Narodni Odpor´s webpage and it's really funny reading!

AND SECOND STRIKE...

And Colombo strike again! This time from another side, obscure probably one-man nationalist group Narodni Myslenka. On their webpage (and then on some anarchist on-line discussion lists) they published an article about „real anarchism," denouncing „leftist anarchism" and „antifascism." The article was called „Anarchist against anti-fascism" and was all about so-called „anarcho-nationalism" , according to author „more and more popular across the whole Europe." The pamphlet was signed „real anarchist."

Well, good article to the humor section, however, Tomas Netolicky (A-kontra editor) decided to react and published very good and intellectually strong answer denouncing this bullshits.

NARODNI ODPOR OSTRAVA FINALLY VIRTUAL

Narodni Odpor, once a militant nazi group, once again proofed itself to be dead. In December, they published a communiqué calling to block a punk/hardcore (and generally apolitical) gig in town of Ostrava. The forum to this article was a funny reading, with nazis from all around the country writing "oh, I'd come, but it's so cold today" etc. and finally when the gig took place, no nazis were seen kilometers around...

It is very seldom in ABB, but in this case we are bringing here re-print from the Czech mainstream media. Report is written obviously from very journalistic perspective but touches surprise many interesting aspects towards recent confrontations with fascists on the streets of Prague – ABB.

SKINHEADS STIR TROUBLE IN ZIZKOV DISTRICT

Some business owners in Prague 3 are raising concerns about an increased presence in the district of neo-Nazis, whom they blame for a spate of recent incidents in which at least two bars were vandalized and several people say they were attacked. The incidents, over different weekends during the past month, have tended to occur on days when skinheads were holding organized rallies that drew large numbers of neo-Nazi supporters. Noah Lucas, co-owner of the "Blind Eye" bar in Zizkov, called an attack on his bar "terrifying." People "are in danger," said Lucas, whose bar attracts a large expatriate clientele. Petr Tous, head of Czech police for Prague 3, said his department is investigating several incidents in the area but declined to comment further. Neo-Nazis rallied alongside nationalists Dec. 10 at both the Austrian and Slovak embassies to protest the Austrian government's jailing of British author David Irving, who is charged with a hate crime for publicly arguing that the Holocaust was a hoax. While a group called the Patriotic Front — a registered Czech civic organization that says it does not support racist doctrine — organized the rally, at least two dozen skinheads attended. Despite the afternoon of organized unrest in Prague 5 and 6, police did not report any serious incidents around the city. Authorities have confirmed that Oct. 28 rallies in connection with celebrations commemorating the anniversary of an independent Czechoslovakia spawned a handful of neo-Nazi incidents around Prague. Lucas said that close to 9 p.m. that night, eight skinheads wearing bomber jackets, military boots and black scarves to cover their faces, stormed the bar after breaking one of its windows. They hurled ashtrays and a barstool at him, he said. "It was reminiscent of Kristallnacht," the 33-year-old, who is part Jewish, said in reference to 1938's "Night of Broken Glass," when Nazis stormed Jewish homes and businesses in Germany and Austria during the buildup to the Holocaust. Lucas also said a group of skinheads drinking in his bar in August refused to pay and punched his business partner. On Nov. 5, a similar incident was reported at the bar "Beelzepub", which is around the corner from "Blind Eye". Lucas said he's heard reports from friends and customers over the past year of packs of young skinheads wandering late-night streets, listening for foreign languages and attacking anyone who wears the wrong clothes. "Usually their activities come in bunches," said Ondrej Cakl, the director of the Tolerance and Civil Society (TOS), an organization that tracks hate groups. "There will be a few [incidents] in the period of two to three months, and then it will be quiet for a while." TOS, which is funded by the European Union and private donors, does not keep numbers on specific targets, but Roma (Gypsies), homeless people and immigrants frequently find themselves victims of such attacks, Cakl said. Lucas said expatriates are also targets. On Nov. 13, two expatriates, Keith Heffle and Shay Carlstrom, walked out of Valentino's, a well-known gay bar on Vinohradská street, and found themselves confronted by two skinheads for being in a "gay-borhood " — not because they are American. A scuffle in which the two were punched and kicked lasted for about two minutes, they said, before they were able to battle off their attackers. Neither reported the incident, the two believing that police would be unsympathetic toward gays and not relishing filing reports in such a setting. Still, said Carlstrom, 26, fighting back was a good idea. "I'm glad we didn't roll over because [gay-bashing] could become a hobby," he said. A spokesman for Prague 3 Mayor Milan Ceský said the office has no proof of any recent neo-Nazi-related attacks, which doesn't surprise Cakl. While police say they are still investigating, Cakl points out that getting to the bottom of such incidents is difficult. "The problem is," he said, "victims of neo-Nazi abuse don't usually call the police because they are afraid or don't want to testify." Lucas was not able to help police much because he could not identify the assailants he said trashed his bar. In addition, the attention surrounding the "Blind Eye" incident focused new attention on an old permit problem the bar has had; it now sits temporarily closed. Lucas has installed a surveillance camera outside the bar's main door, and visitors must now ring a bell and be screened before entering.

TEN YEARS IN STRUGGLE

Czech Antifascist Action

1996 – 2005

Czech Antifascist Action (AFA) had been founded in 1996, following the dramatic events during police raid on Prague underground club where solidarity gig for imprisoned antifascist was held. Special police SWAT unit was deployed, armed with submachine guns, threatening and brutally beating many people.

After some considerations, a group of militants afterwards decided as necessary to get organized for self-defense of the anarchist and antiauthoritarian movement. Antifascism has been already an high profile topic for Czech anarchists since beginning of modern movement in 1990, but never in such coordinated manner. It was the idea behind AFA to put an end to scattered and disorganized antifascist activity and to shift it on higher level, based on continuity, coherence, effective solidarity and direct action.

Since its foundation AFA has followed a bit extraordinary trajectory in comparison with other European groups of such name, because being clearly anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist with strong ties to anarchist groupings and recognizing the danger of totalitarian Left as equally menacing our freedoms as the fascist one.

Local groups sprang up in several regions, mainly Prague, Brno and Central Moravia. Soon the bulletin "Antifa News" begun to be released quarterly and a flood of propaganda materials started to arrive in many regions.

AFA was also gradually able to involve itself in another important component of what has been called "revolutionary antifascism" tactics – the direct actions against Nazis and their public actions, aimed at their suppression on both local community level and public sphere.

Neo-Nazi movement in CZ has been traditionally mixed with skinhead subculture and gradually absorbed its considerable part. This caused an high frequency of street violence, targeting their political opponents, antiauthoritarian subculture and mainly Gipsy (Roma) ethnic minority. There had happened at least 25 racially and politically motivated murders inside CZ during 1990s reaching its peak in the years 1995-1996 (September 1995 saw 3 Nazi murders within few weeks), with police repression being systematically reluctant. This was also strong motivation affecting the birth of AFA.

AFA action groups soon started to suppress Nazi street violence and harassment in several cities and towns, which begun to bring some considerable results in calming down Nazi violence and achieving another main goal for AFA: to defend the social space for anarchist and antiauthoritarian movements.

The very first public action of AFA was antifascist demonstration in Prague, summer 1996, which was attacked by police forces with several arrests made and fabricated charges brought against several participants. More than 600 people attended the "Antifascist Unity Festival" organized in fall 1996 against police reprisals and to support prosecuted activists. AFA started to be the organizing force behind series of benefit gigs, public discussions, exhibitions and social events happening all over the Czech republic.

From 1996 to 1999 AFA magazine "Antifa News" was printed. March 2000 saw first issue of the new AFA magazine "Akce", which became an important tool for the propaganda and information exchange.

Early in 2000 large www.antifa.cz webpage has been launched, boasting extremely detailed monitoring of neo-Nazi groups and individuals, which also helps to suppress their activities.

AFA delegates attended many international antifascist conferences and protest actions and helped to organize some of them, like large antifascist demo against IMF/WB congress in Prague, September 2000 (during which neo-Nazi meeting was successfully confronted with large media coverage).

Series of AFA direct actions also contributed greatly to the demise of the largest Czech Nazi political project ever conceived – so called "National social Bloc" in 2000-2001. With their meetings and leading figures being systematically attacked and dispersed, NSB slowly died out of internal strives and incapability to be active in the public sphere.

AFA also achieved partial suppression and neutralization of so called "National Resistance", foremost dangerous and aggressive component of NSB, which survived in the form of Nazi combat group, attempting to launch an "anti-antifa" campaign. Without organized AFA direct actions and counteractions, the NR would have been a large threat.

AFA also established tradition of summer antifascist camps (since 2000), which became focal point for information and experience exchange, meeting of local groups and strengthening the links between existing organizations.

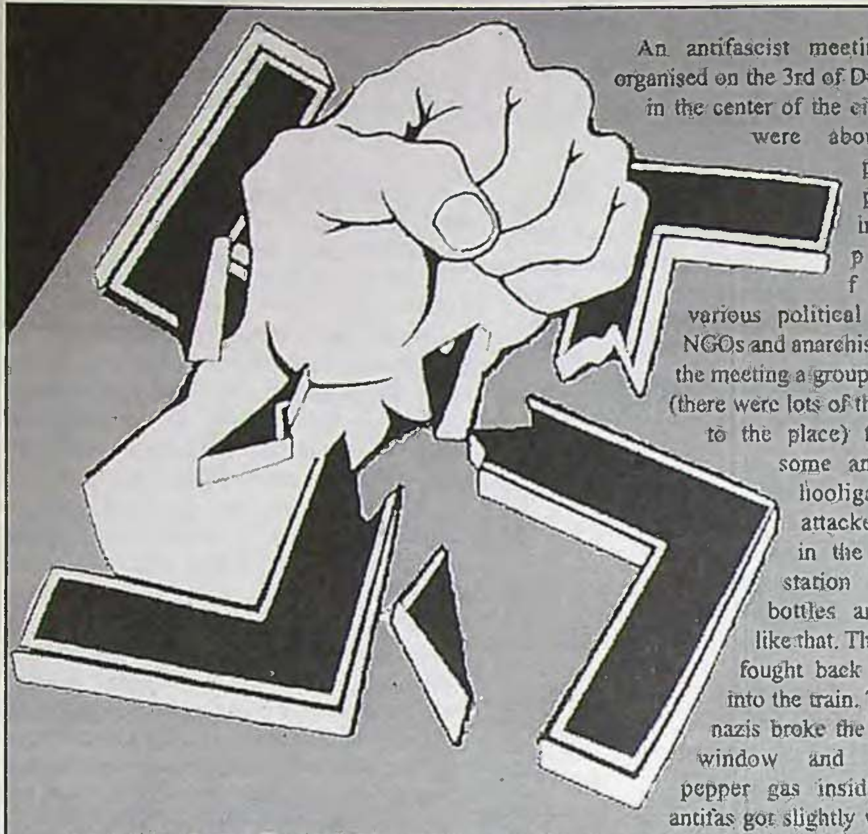
The so called "Sniper Camp" is annually organized since 2003, focusing on firearms training and self-defense combat skills. This is quite necessary, because for instance in 1997 and 1998 we saw two incidents of well known antifascists being attacked by group of militant neo-Nazi, who managed to save themselves only by resorting to gunfire (guns of legal possession) and were subsequently framed by police on attempted murder charges. Both cases attracted a lot of international attention and solidarity and large campaigns to free them were crowned by astounding success when both were released from prison and later cleared of criminal charges in May 1999.

Last, but not least, AFA activists were also known for the actions against top representatives of Bolshevik Left, which tried to infiltrate the antiauthoritarian community and its public actions.

During these years of fervent and combative activities AFA became intimately tied and symbiotic with specific anarchist groups. Year 2003 saw a major strategic debate inside AFA and antifascist milieu, which resulted in what in reality were not major changes, but rather natural products of antiauthoritarian political development. AFA groups decided to advance themselves by joining the Federation of Anarchist Groups (member section of IWA) as its workgroup, to integrate into the anarchist workers movement.

This did not brought any substantial changes in shape of everyday AFA activity, but rather provided more effective framework for coherence, solidarity and mutual aid in antifascist struggle. For instance IWA sections and Secretariat were already crucial in major international campaign to free Czech antifascist prisoners in 1999 and AFA itself proved that it rightly belongs to this global community of struggle for freedom and anarchist communism.

Czech AFA can be contacted at:
kontakt@antifa.cz
(English speaking)



NAZI VIOLENCE IN ST. PETERSBURG CONTINUES

by ANTIFA-PITER

It seemed as that after the murder of antifascist Timur Kacharava the local nazis would make some pause in their violent activities. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

An antifascist meeting was organised on the 3rd of December in the center of the city, there were about 300 people present, including people from various political parties, NGOs and anarchists. After the meeting a group of nazis (there were lots of them near to the place) followed some antifascist hooligans and attacked them in the subway station with bottles and stuff like that. The antifas fought back and got into the train. Then the nazis broke the carriage window and sprayed pepper gas inside, so 2 antifas got slightly wounded with splinters of glass. On the platform the fight continued - one nazi managed to run away, the other one was caught and beaten up, and then the subway cops took care of him (what a pity).

The attackers seemed to be from some Zenit (biggest local football club) hooligans firm. Later, on some online forum they wrote that it was an okay action and that they are not going to stop. This shows the craziness of local nazis - they are ready to fight using bottles, iron bars etc. in Petersburg subway which is crowded by people all the time - just random people might suffer if they act like this again.

On the 15th of November a 16 years old boy of Azerbaijani origin was found badly wounded near the school where he studied. He died before being brought to the hospital. The local people told that some nazis were often hanging out near this school.

And on the 24th of November there was a series of attacks against African students living in dormitories in the south-west Petersburg. One African guy, 28 years old from Cameroon, died because of knife wounds in the neck, another one was wounded and one managed to run away.

In December some trials against nazi-skinheads came to their end in Petersburg. The leader of Schultz-88 group got sentenced to 6 years in prison, others got suspended sentences. People from Mad Crowd (nazi group also connected to Schultz-88) got sentenced to 2 to 3 years in colony. Also 5 persons were detained and accused of murder of Timur Kacharava. We are sure that at least one of them is guilty – there is too much evidence against him. Some commentators say that this new wave of violence is a sort of nazis response to the trials and state repressions.

The local authorities (governor Valentina Matvienko and others) continue to deny the neonazi problem, telling bullshit like "oh no, it's all just teenage hooliganism, you see, those are just 16-18 years old kids, how can they be nazis?".

no pasaran
a.c.a.b.

ANTI-FASCIST CHRONICLE FROM RUSSIA

VOLGOGRAD/VOLZHK

On 29th of October a concert of an anti-fascist group "Proverochnaya Lineyka" from Moscow was booked in Volzhk (East-side of the twin-city of Volgograd -Volzhk). "Lineyka" could not make it to Volzhk, thus local groups from Volzhk (Hypnoise and Resist No Exit) and neighbouring Volgograd (Bandzboyd, Datura) were going to play. After the concert bands and audience were going together to a bus stop direction Volgograd, where they were ambushed by Nazis. Since punks were prepared to fight back, they managed to defend themselves. Nazis dispersed, one of them died after two weeks in a hospital.

Next day Lineyka finally made it to the twin city, and concert was to be organized in side of Volgograd. After concert, 30-40 Nazis armed with stones, knifes and bottles attacked the people. Police failed to catch any of them at the spot, anti-fascist patrols claim they had a slightly better harvest. That evening, Nazi patrols were seen at final stops of all buses and mini-buses, direction Volzhk, and there was a major Nazi convergence in the centre of the Volzhk as well.

MOSCOW

On 15th November fascist front organization Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI), excited of their recent success, wanted to picket Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN) with theme "Stop dark-skinned rapists". Racist demonstration was inspired by an arresting of a student from Papua New-Guinea with charges of raping a Russian studen, earlier last autumn. Racists also wanted to revive reputation of RUDN dormitory to be a hub of heroin trade in Moscow, which has not been the case in more than 10 years. Local police department (which a month earlier dispersed a peaceful picket of latin@ students, for the memory of a Peruvian student murdered by Nazis in Voronezh) was willing to permit Nazis picket in distant Southern suburb of Butovo, but fascists wanted to make it into RUDN. Eventually the fascists announced that the picket will consist of one person, deputy of Zhirinovsky's Liberal-Democratic Party (LDPR) Kuryanovich. He is famous for his (failed) legal initiatives to limit the access of immigrants from Kyrgyzhtan and Tadzhkistan to Russia, as well as to deprive citizenship from Russian women who marry foreigners. This is not the first time LDPR has functioned as a legal "umbrela" for activities of DPNI, just as DPNI in its turn cooperates with outright extremist groups openly condoning racist violence.

Eventually, up to thirty guys of "sporty outlook" showed up in front of the main building of RUDN with flags of LDPR. Counter-action was prepared by a previously unknown group "Front of Anti-Fascist Circus Stormers" (FACS). Shouting "fascist eat some banana!" six "stormers" threw bananaa at Kuryanovich, while the rest of the racists got sprayed with aerosol cream. Horrified, half of the racists made a quick retreat - anti-fascists had trouble repelling the counter-attack of the second half, since they were laughing themselves to death, observing the panic among vanguard of the white race, which were "outnumbered" 6 against 30. Eventually police interfered, one anti-fascist was arrested and illegal racist picket was dispersed. Despite threats by Kuryanovich, anti-fascist was eventually not charged with anything.

Immigration became a hot issue in Moscow city Duma elections. Rodina (Motherland) party, originally created by Kremlin to compete communists votes of national-patriotic electorate, made an openly racist television ad, promising to "clean Moscow from the garbage", pointing to Caucasian immigrants. After a complaint filed by LDPR (a party appealing to same electorate), Motherland was disqualified from the elections due to this racist ad, but eventually most of the parties ended up attempting to harvest the anti-immigrant vote.

These tensions were also visible on the streets, for example on 27th of November both Motherland-party and anti-fascist coalition of various liberals had filed an appeal to march almost the same route. Eventually mayor's office did not give either of them the right to march, but was willing to accept a meeting instead. Motherland was happy with a meeting, but liberals decided to picket illegally against the city mayor. They were discontent with the fact that DPNI and Eurasian Union had been given a chance for a major fascist march 4th of November, whereas anti-fascist march was banned by mayor's office.

It was obvious that much of the liberal organizing was a build-up for the city Duma elections. Anarchists were wary of all these initiatives and - as liberals showed their totally opportunistic face during the preparation process, eventually only about 10 anarchists joined the illegal demonstration on the opposite side of the City Duma, at the statue of Moscow founder Yuri Long-handed. Demonstration had, however, appeal beyond "usual suspects" of liberal activists, and some 200 people showed up, which is not bad for an illegal demonstration in Moscow. Authorities were present with three busloads of OMON, and they began grabbing people to buses reserved for arrests. In half an hour the action was dispersed and some 75 people arrested. Many of the arrested had to face misdemeanor charges for "participating in an illegal demonstration", and were sentenced to pay fines from 500 to 1000 rubles (15-30 euros).

On 18th of December liberal and human rights organizations finally managed to get their march together - 1500-2000 people marched from Turgenyev square to Lyubyanka. Unaligned anarchists and anti-fascists, Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action tried to organize their own block, to counter schizoid liberal approach of combating fascism with patriotism - anarchist brought banners "No-one is illegal" and "Our motherland is the whole humanity" and scanned "Fascism won't trespass!", "Down with fascism!", "World is colorful, not brown!", "Down with all the suits of fascists, from doormats to rulers!", "Antifa!", and others slogans. Unfortunately anarchists and internationalist anti-fascists managed to only mobilize a block of 25 people.

After the march, 20 Nazis armed with bottles managed to jump on some 10 anarchists. Luckily, none of the anarchists was seriously wounded. Actually, the person who got most baiting from Nazis were their own provocateur, whom they mistakenly took as an anarchist.

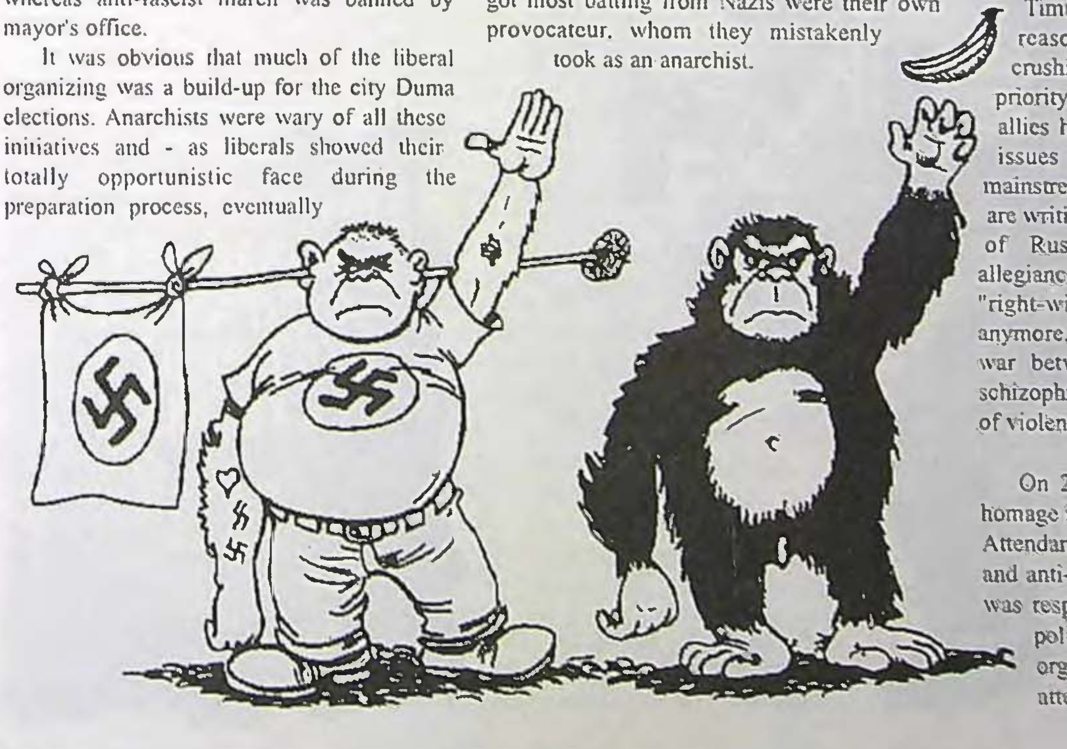
In their internet discussion forums, Moscow Nazis claim that they have lost 4 in street fights during year 2005. We have not managed to find evidence for this information, and take it with a grain of salt. However it does not really matter what has happened or not, since this story has already become a part of Nazi mythology, further justifying escalation of the violence.

ST. PETERSBURG

In the meantime in St. Petersburg, the most diverse political forces were quick enough to make some PR on the death of our fellow, anarchist and anti-fascist, Timur Kacharava. On 16th of November, wanna-be "Orange revolutionary" organization Oborona organized a concert "We all are different", together with a self-declared "Social revolutionary - Maximalist" Pyotr Alekseyev Resistance Movement (DSIPA). The concert was hosted by a deputy of St. Petersburg city, Duma Sergei Gulyayev, and began with a minute of silence to commemorate Timur Kacharava. These poseurs were shameless enough to invite their political allies, fascist and racist National-Bolshevik Party to the concert!

Eventually, some Nazbols were beaten up in a metro station Chernyshevskaya after the concert - some Nazis wanted to keep their brown without red. One Nazbol, one Stalinist and one Korean passer-by ended up in a hospital. St. Petersburg authorities were eager to stir up confusion, spreading disinformation that the attack was in fact organized by anti-fascists, who were revenging over the death of Timur to fascist Nazbols. For unknown reasons, Russian authorities consider crushing NBP at any price their current priority. City mayor, Matvienko and her allies have had some success in obscuring issues related to Timur's murder in mainstream media. In the meantime Nazbols are writing touching testimonies on the pages of Russian Indymedia, pleading their allegiance to national-socialism and praying "right-wing Nazis" not to beat them up anymore, as they are "neutral" in current street war between fascists and antifa. All this schizophrenia would be quite fun, if these acts of violence had not real human victims.

On 21st of November 600 people paid homage in St. Petersburg to Timur Kacharava. Attendance was much beyond small anarchist and anti-fascist circles, but almost everybody was respectful and did not raise symbols of political parties or other authoritarian organizations. Only one moronic liberal attempted to raise Russian tri-colour and



EU flags. Hundreds of candles were lighted. One Nazi got beaten up.

BETTER RUN
NAZIBASTARD

On 3rd of December another anti-fascist demonstration to commemorate Timur Kacharava was organized in Malaya Konyushennaya street of St. Petersburg, this time it was a free stage for the political parties' PR. The meeting was called by some Trotskyites, but liberals such as Oborona and Yabloko-party were heavily present. One anarchist gave a speech as well, altogether some 300 people came.

Several Nazi scouts were observed during the demonstration, and eventually a dozen of fighters from Nazi hooligan firm "Spruty" (Octopus) armed with broken bottles and iron bars jumped on 10 anarchists in a metro station Gostiniy Dvor. Anarchist managed to retreat to a wagon, but two got minor wounds from broken glass when Nazis trashed metro windows with chains and shot pepper gas into the wagon.

5 persons suspected of murder of Timur Kacharava were arrested on 6th of December - according to mainstream media. 4 of them have confessed participation in the attack, but denied having caused mortal wounds. All arrested are 16-18 years old. Apparently police had few leads, until one of the arrested gave detailed account on planning and execution of the murder in Live Journal. This sounds a pretty stupid thing even for a Nazi to do, but if you think about it, what is the point of being a hero of the white race if people do not know about it? Russian prison culture has a zero tolerance to racism, so we hope these guys will sleep next couple of years on the floor in a company of rats and cockroaches.

St. Petersburg authorities made some more arrests during December.

24th of December, St. Petersburg Nazis murdered another African student - Kanhem Leon from Cameroon, who had spent only 4 months in Russia. On 27th of December some 150 people gathered at Smolna to a somewhat spiritless demonstration. Human rights activists, liberals, anarchists, anti-fascists and African and few Asian students came. Other migrant groups were absent. Pro-Kremlin storm trooper organization "Nashi" came to pump up their fake anti-fascist image with their own banner, trying to shout their own slogans louder than other participators. This was the first time activities of "Nashi" have had anything to do with anti-fascism - with the exception of a picket, they claimed to have organized in Moscow in prior to fascist march of November 4th, but which never took place. Until now, Nashi has been mostly busy with cowardly attacks against NBP and young Stalinists under police cover. We hope to find creative ways to disrupt Nashi poseurs if they show up to discredit such meetings next time - although this may be difficult, since Nashi has very powerful "friends".

TYUMEN, SIBERIA

A solidarity action for the freedom of speech in Moscow was organized in Tyumen, Siberia by an initiative of local open publishing project golosa.info, initiated by local anti-authoritarian communists, anarchists and ecologists. 15 people gathered at Tyumen state university and marched through the main streets distributing leaflets and stickers. Their mouths were taped, and they carried placates with a text "Fascist power is shutting up our mounths".

VOLGOGRAD

On 23rd of November a memorial concert to Timur Kacharava was organized in Volgograd. All proceedings from the tickets were donated to pay the hospital bill of Timur's friend, Maksim Zgibay, who was seriously wounded by assailants who murdered Timur.

SYKTYVKAR, KOMI REPUBLIC

On 4th of December fascist umbrella group "Union of National Revival" was to demonstrate on the central square of Syktyvkar at noon. 7 a.m. young anti-fascists of Syktyvkar made anti-fascist drawings at snow around the meeting place. City

NEW WEBSITE ON ANARCHIST ANTIFASCIST MOVEMENT IN CZECHIA

Czech antifascist action (Czech AFA is an anarchist organization) has a new website, frequently updated with articles etc. You can find it on www.antifa.cz. You can find some infos in English too.

employees were supportive, and promised not to clean the snow before the meeting. Eventually fascists' meeting was banned and some of their leaders got arrested.

REULTEVO, MOSCOW REGION

On 10th of December a record-release party of punk band "Diagens" was planned in Moscow suburbs of Reultevo. 20-30 Nazis from "Slavic Union" decided to attack people going to the concert with knives and iron bars. Soon after doors were opened, Nazis made a charge against the crowd outside. Eventually 6 punks had to be hospitalized, 5 of them with stabbs and 2 with serious wounds that had to be operated. Fortunately nobody died. Anti-fascists claim to have caught 12 Nazis in the area the same evening.

ROSTOV-NA-DONU

On 11th of January anarchists, skinheads and "neformaly" of Rostov-na-Donu organized an action in order to clean the city from racist and fascist graffiti and posters. Some 40 people joined action. During the action, anti-fascists distributed leaflets and made anti-fascist graffiti - 3 regions of the city were completely cleaned from fascist propaganda.

compiled by editorial collective of www.avtonom.org

COLUMNS COLUMNS COLUMNS

NO MORE NOR LESS THAN TOTAL FREEDOM

Immediately as we are born, gender roles are enforced on us. Not even yet being able to start understanding this world and not able to resist in any other way than with permanent scream, while system of domination already started process of integrating us in this miserable society, enslaved to 2-gender norm (among other designed for us oppressive norms). Name given according to shape of genitals, which while not fitting into one of 2 standards are immediately subjected to surgery. All life through our life we'll had to stay pre-codified by system and its willing executioners, also in form of our families, which in many cases honestly "want good for us", knowing than in this society mere "difference" is enough to be lynched. Then, while growing up we have to belong to one of interested in each other, yet overtly hostile "tribes" of males or females. Those, which cannot find themselves attracted or moved enough by routine of "boys & girls" game, had to pretend and depending on level of oppression in particular society and strength of own character (or simply force of own emanating "difference"), can even go on pretending their whole lives. And even these most liberal societies, which according to their laws and billboards are supposing to really allow each individual to "be yourself" are doing this only to open new market for their obsolete products. There will be always enough new products to sell for most "sexually confused" ones as well as for those concerned with possibly most "biological and natural" diet. Still, reality is mostly economy based, so those few rich gay even in fundamentalist country can "buy his freedom of (sexual)choice" - even if it means escape in more liberal place - and still most of transvestites will be stacked in badly paid prostitution jobs, somewhere in most stenchy and ruined streets. Surely so, because on the end each society has its "majority" and "minorities" and those latter ones have - this anyway so miserable and humiliating - chance to "integrate and assimilate" themselves only in entertainment business (so as actors, singers, TV-attraction or, with less luck, prostitution).

In many so-called barbaric societies "a different one" was, even if often excluded and categorized, considered "special"-his/her "uniqueness" was protected, often "feared". Yes, mostly it meant to be condemned to solitude, to live on margin of village or nomadic camp, yet at least individuality was respected. Through all latter history we have only more and more oppressive "majorities" formed with their witch-hunts, burning pyres, pogroms, lynches, etc. Recent years bring more of circuses, freak-shows, celebrated gay-politicians, etc. As earlier societies needed to lynch "others" ("perverts", Jews, "possessed"...) to prove themselves how "normal ,righteous and god-fearing" they themselves are, some liberal societies of now are celebrating own domination, own form of ruling almost close to perfect system, in which soon everybody, whoever it is, can profit from belonging to Machine and being part of it. Of course, only everybody who easily cooperates with Domain (turkish-origin cop in Germany, computer expert from India celebrated in US or transvestite in Spanish Guardia Civil...) and fits in its liberal plans is allowed to taste fruits of exploitation of millions of "unlucky" (which with expansion of technology are becoming faster and faster only "useless ones").

And some of us, which rebel-and every real rebellion starts from individual feeling own oppression and acting against it-can sometimes, even be lucky enough to encounter other ones, with which they hope to share their incompatibility with present system and will to change and/or simply destroy it. Some may encounter those, which call themselves "anarchists" and are eager to share with them own hates & loves, passions & disgusts, feelings & ideas, all the time believing (rightly!!!) that "anarchy" means freedom for all how they are, freedom from categories, norms, standards, laws which constitutes hierarchies, power structures and pyramids of order; freedom in which nobody is subjected to be "men, Russian, lesbian, worker, Christian.." but can exist and act as individual without being forced or obliged "to be something" or "do something" according to how they are categorized and defined by others. Yet mostly what they encounter is unfortunately poor caricature of patriarchal family model - which in this case is called "anarchist collective" - with one (or more fighting with each other) leading "heads of family", compassionate "mother figures" which will sacrifice his/her –self to save "unity of the group" in difficult moments and anyway does lot of reproductive, unspectacular work (printing flyers written by others, painting slogans invented by others...) and horde of "children" which - according to their character – do much "useful work" or simply are passively there, forming" part of collective". In reality it often means also newcomer encountering strictly that same repressive social codes, which exist in "normal", so authoritarian society, not mentioning usual ordinary homophobia, racism, sexist role divisions ... Unfortunately it isn't unusual, while entering many of anarchist spaces of this planet to see few bearded men in clouds of dust

COLUMNS COLUMNS COLUMNS

surrounded by their old "holy books" serving as never questioned itself (even if permanently fighted over details: "what Kropotkin meant with...") set of doctrines, stucked in inertia, masturbating over revolts in which they didn't took part (Spain 1936, etc.) or dreaming about future in which they will not live... As not able to find passion to live and fight, to attack and to create small moments of freedom - because freedom in society which is just vegetating means moments in which we feel most ALIVE, even if these are filled also with fear - they just protect their museums of "anarchist knowledge". Instead of living and spreading anarchy they often even attack those rebellious "naive" & young ones, which think that anarchy is ever evolving, unpredictable process in which we can be and act what we really want and not theater, in which we have all our set-up roles; they want us to believe that anarchy is not our life-taking adventurous trip through mostly hostile and – with time more and more concrete system's jungle without map and compass but armed with passion and solidarity but that is some place far away to which we have to build asphalted highway according to plans of some long-dead "classics"... There is often more natural anarchy in cell of a plant or in heart of wild animal than in minds of many "anarchists".

And so often, those rejected by society for whatever reasons, cannot find their place among anarchists, because anarchists aren't able or ready to understand and respect somebody which isn't exactly like them, which grew up in different reality, which have more doubts concerning certain things, which don't share their life-style or their estethic codes & rituals... And above all they encounter boredom, sadness, routine, repetivity and very little of what they actually wanted: immediate action against unbearable reality, passion to subvert hated aspects and rejection of roles & privileges. While explaining own problems, doubts and – often "naive"-ideas, too often they will hear from "experienced" anarchists answer (so typically usual of reformist left): "Not now". Not any empathy even and above all they'll hear probably, that their problems are "only" identity problems and somehow it all will be solved "after the (anarchist) revolution". In fact most of anarchists, if they start to describe themselves so, they immediately stop (if they ever even did...) to question themselves: they easily assume, that they aren't sexist, racist, anti-semitic, homophobe, etc. or worse even: they don't take all these oppressive mechanism as important in light of ubitiqous importance of some abstract "anarchy". What it means is, that in my own experience, while having deeper "gender confusion", while my "typical and permanent" immigrant problems or while suffering economic total destitution (no cash and no chances) I didn't got much understanding (forget help...) from anarchist comrades, but from other mostly "apolitical" fucked-ups, immigrants, petty criminals, prostitutes... Of course, they are exceptions and I will not forget them, but most of people in anarchist movement are middle-class, hard-core heterosexual members of dominant majority; so at least they should honestly confront own privileges and not self-celebrate own ideal of "free-thinkers", especially in times that in most of their countries they don't even encounter much repression for their mere "free-thinking"...

In fact, personally I share more with these which hate the system than with these which wish to "change the world", more with these which don't fit anywhere than with these which found their "peace of mind" and while not believing in any "utopias" I will not wait for place & time in which I can share with somebody mutual passions (also sexual ones) without needing to consider their or my own gender & sex. I want it now!

NHL (AbolishingBB)

WHY WE GO DOWN?

Czech anarchist movement seems to not only stagnate, but also decrease at the moment. There probably is more than one reason for it, including the "natural" fact of decreasing and increasing of activity in time. With a help of a few people I'm working currently on some kind of analysis, which will hopefully be published in next issue of the AbolishingBB. So far it is only speculations – is it absence of short-term goals, lack of concrete results, matter of a lot of talking and little action, focusing on far future and ignoring our daily needs or disproportion between nice words and sometimes nasty reality within groups (arguing, personal fights)? We will try to ask people who left the movement and maybe we would research something...

Personally I believe we do following mistakes... First, we do not develop new kind of activities and actions... It is still the same schema: oh, there is such and such problem (they wrote about it in mainstream media!!), let's do something – leaflets, posters, demonstrations! One hundred times the same again, without any evaluating or constant follow-up activity. Too often we just follow the official media focus and play in their spectacle, and without finishing or reaching anything we go to another "big cause."

Second, our activities are too virtual and not connected to ordinary life. This is not to say that such activities are not important, but I believe we should be engage in kind of work we really, concretely feel as bloody important – housing issues, problems at work, mutual aid projects etc. We need social activities that would help US, even a little, and make us feel the anarchist movement has even practical real sense.

Third, I believe anarchist movement here is too subcultural and youth-centrical. It couldn't work with people who have children, it couldn't work with people who have difficult jobs (not to say "higher status" kind of job such as managers etc. as I believe this people could be anarchists as well and I know ex-anarchists who work in this kind of jobs) and it couldn't work with people who have different cultural tastes. Generally, the movement and its dynamics required (wo)man who is prepared to invest a lot of time into the activities and in the same time to attend its subcultural events...

People's private problems are (un)solve precisely like that: peoples private problems, something that everyone should solve itself and then (or besides that) work for the movement (there is so much posters to paste up...). But, shouldn't be anarchist organization rather the place where to solve people's private problems? The place of mutual solidarity and the place where people could find necessary help in the first place? Isn't that the politics we should develop? It doesn't seem so, at least here.

I'm once again stressing this is just my personal opinion, however based on talks with ex-activist who left the movement (or more often were practically forced to leave it). And I'm sure as hell a lot of people wouldn't agree with me...

Author could be contacted at apf@seznam.cz with "ABB COLUMN" in the head of message

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS, PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE

WELCOME TO EE ANARCHISM

www.alter.most.org.pl (good english)
www.abb.hardcore.lt (bad english)

ARMENIA

★ **"Proryv"** - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; vaga@freenet.am
★ **Armenia Indymedia** - vahagn@bem.am

BELARUS

★ **ABC Belarus** - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o.box 217; intolerant@autonom.zzn.com; www..anarchistblackcross.by.ru
★ **AFA (Antifascist Action)** - Minsk; restless81@mail.com
★ **Anarchist Library** - Minsk: antyfa@mail.ru
★ **Anti-McDonald** - http://belmac.narod.ru; http://kompaktor.narod.ru
★ **ANTYFA** - antifascist group; antyfa@mail.ru
★ **Autonomous Action / Lida** - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus) P. O. Box 11..231282 Lida -2, Grodno
★ **Autonomous Action / Minsk** (Belarus) belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org.
★ **BAF/ Belarusian Anarchy Front** - baf@list.ru
★ **Belarusian Linux Community** - www.linux.hitech.by
★ **"Ecoresist"** - anarcho-ecological group; ecoaction@tut.by
★ **FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarhist** -
  - Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134;
  - Novopoloc; nuts-1@rambler.ru
★ **Food Not Bombs** - Minsk - fnbminsk@narod.ru
★ **"Free Theatre"** - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; ksenia_izberg@mail.ru
★ **KDS "Razam" / Condefedaration of Active Initiatives "Together"** - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; kds-razam@tut.by; www.razam.by.ru
★ **"Navinki"** - satirical anarchist quarterly newspaper; Minsk; pauluk@tut.by, www.navinki.net
★ **"Rebellious girls"** - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; rebelgirls@mail.ru
★ **www.anarchistory.boom.ru** - history of anarchy in Belarus
★ **www.375crew.org** - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

★ **Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina"** - Banjaluka; ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk
★ **www.osvajanjeslobode.bravehost.com** - anarchist info from BiH

BULGARIA

★ **"Anarho Saprotiya" (Anarchist Resistance)** - newspaper; http.//resistance.hit.bg
★ **"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom)** - newspaper / discussion forum; http.//savanne.ch/svoboda; svoboda@bulgaria.com
★ **"Anarchy in BG"** - http.//change.to/anarchy
★ **www.stand.at/struggle** - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material

CROATIA

★ **www.kontra-punkt.info** - anarchist information&discussion web-site
★ **AnFemA (Anarcho-Feminist-Action)** - anfema@zamir.net; www.anfema.tk
★ **"Monte Paradiso"** - squat/social centre in Pula; URK Monteparadiso ex Vojarna K.Rojc; Gajeva 5; 52100 Pula; http.//squat.net/monteparadiso; info@monteparadiso.hr
★ **Rijeka anarchist Initiative** - www.rai.anarhija.org,rai200@net.hr; anarhist_ri@yahoo.com
★ **"SKATULA"** - infoshop in Rijeka; u Kruznoj 8; open Wed&Thurs.17-21
★ **"Tabula Rasa"** - anarchist/libertarian infoshop in Cakovec; adress: Josipa Kozarca BB; post: Infoshop Tabula rasa, p.p. 18, 40315 M. Sredisce, Croatia
★ **Z.A.F. / Zadar Anarchist Front** - local anarchist group in the city of Zadar; zadarskianarohisti@yahoo.com; www.solidarnost.mahost.org
★ **www.stocitas.org** - Antiauthoritarian publisher
★ **"sto citas?"** b.shop Zagreb Preradoviceva 32

CZECHIA

★ **Antifascist Action (AFA)** - afa-praha@anarchismus.org, www.antifa.cz
★ **Anarcho-feminist group** - anarchofeminismus@centrum.cz, anarchofeminismus.ecn.cz
★ **-1155; KPK Praha (ex-Solidarita)** - praha@solidarita.org, www.solidarita.org, tel: +420 604 247 218
  - regional group of Brno, brno@solidarita.org, tel: +420 732 616 695
★ **Anarchistické sdruž eni Uherské Hradište** - Anarchist group of Uherské Hradište), e-mail uhas@email.cz
★ **"A-kontra"** - anarchist magazine, c/o CAS, PO Box 223, Praha 1, 111 21, tel. +420 605 903 098, e-mail: a-kontra@csaf.cz, www.a-kontra.net
★ **"Bloody Mary"** - riot-grrl/anarchist zine, Bloodymary@bust.com, c/o CAS, p.o. box 223, 111 21 Praha 1
★ **CSAF - Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation** - P.O.Box 223, 111 21 Praha 1, e-mail: praha@csaf.cz, www.csaf.cz
  - **Kladno**, e-mail: kladno@csaf.cz
  - **Northern Czechia**, e-mail: sever@csaf.cz
  - **Kutnohorsko**, e-mail: csaf.kutnohorsko@email.cz, e-mail: kutnohorsko@csaf.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844
  - **Jihlava**, e-mail: csaf.jihlava@email.cz, tel: +420 721 732 844
  - **Eastern Czechia**, e-mail: undertakerdis@seznam.cz
★ **FSA-MAP** - Federation of anarchist groups, info@anarchismus.org, www.anarchismus.org, international seretary: fsa-intersec@anarchismus.org
  - **Northern Czechia**, fas-sever@anarchismus.org
  - **Zlinsko**, fas-zlinsko@anarchismus.org
  - **Prague**, fas-praha@anarchismus.org
  - **Brno**, fas-brno@anarchismus.org
  - **Jihlava**, fas-jihlava@anarchismus.org
  - **Pardubice**, fas-pardubicko@anarchismus.org
★ **Info Café "Krtkova kolona"** - (anarchist info-café), Socharská 6, 170 00, Praha 7 - Bubenec, e-mail: kk@czechcore.cz, kk.czechcore.cz, Tel: 605 983 191
★ **Hudebni klub "Za vraty"** - alternative non-profit club with anarchist activities, tea room, Vtelno 32, 434 01 Most 1, e-mail: international@zavraty.com, www.zavraty.com, tel. +420 723 555 287
★ **Squat "Milada"** - Prague only squat, Na Kindlovce (small house next to the student residential halls), Praha, squat_milada@centrum.cz

ESTONIA

★ **www.hot.ee/anarhism** - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

HUNGARY

★ **AK57 DIY CLUB (half squat)** - 1074 Budapest, dohány u. 57. ring 128 at the doorbell; ak57@indymedia.hu; http://ak57.freeblog.hu; sms +36 20 488 8629
★ **AFK** - autonomous youth collective / social disease collective (anarchist hc-punks); www.socialdisease.tk
★ **BARRICADE COLLECTIVE** - anarchist group; http://www.anarkom.lapja.hu
★ **"GONDOLKODO ANTIKVARIUM"** - anarchist bookshop; www.ainfok.ini.hu; gondolkodo@citromail.hu Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18
★ **RUGANEGRA** - (street folklore staff); www.ruganegra.tk
★ **Social Disease Kollektiva (anarhopunk collective)** - http://socialdisease.tk
★ **www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo** - anarchist web-site

KAZAKHSTAN

★ **www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru** - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan

LATVIA

★ **Pretspars Collective** - zine, distro, web, actions - http://pretspars.hardcore.lt; pretspars@riseup.net
★ **"ZABADAKS"** - DIY culture house, zabba@inbox.lv, www.nekac.lv, tel. +371 3320666.
DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc.; Vijolisu 24; Kuldiga ; LV-3300Latvia; www.nekac.lv, maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv

LITHUANIA

★ **active@hardcore.lt** - LT activists network
★ **"Posedziu Sale"** - DIY culture centre; Savanoriu str. 206 (4th floor). city of Kaunas; simas@dr.com; tel. +37067750363; http://posedis.mums.lt
★ **booking@hardcore.lt** - booking in Lithuania
★ **"GREEN"** - diy culture club in Vilnius: Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius; booking@hardcore.lt
★ **www.hardcore.lt** - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

MACEDONIA

★ **direct action** - anarchist collective directa@freemail.com.mk
★ **fuck yoga** - a distro and label neveranswerthephone@yahoo.com
★ **kaka** - a distro and label surovo@yahoo.com
★ **napravi sam** - a collective radexxx2000@yahoo.com
★ **teror 13** - a infoshop info@teror13.tk www.teror13.anarhija.org

POLAND

★ **ABC/ACK** - www.ack.most.org.pl
  - **Warszawa** - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121, biuletyn@ack.w.pl
  - **Poznan** - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31. sanch@poczta.wp.pl
  - **Bialystok** - po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.
  - **Slupsk** - po box 65; 76-200 Slupsk 12. bifu@polbox.com
  - **Trojmiasto** - pomerz@friko2.onet.pl
  - **Wroclaw** - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagiellonczyka 10B; 50-240 Wroclaw, pbn@poprostu.pl
  - **Lublin** - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 2/30,

COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

20-067 Lublin. cqkier@poczta.onet.pl

- **Lodz** - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950, Lodz 1; falodz@poczta.onet.pl

★ **Anarchist Library** - ul.Pulaskiego 21a; Poznan.

★ **Anarchist Library** - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw.

★ **"A-TAK"** - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprostu (contact); atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html

★ **"A-zine"** - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl

★ **"Bractwo Trojka"** - anarchist publishing house from Poznan; bractwo_trojka@wp.pl, www.bractwotrojka.prv.pl,

★ **"BUNKIER"** ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 35; Torun; stagnation@wp.pl

★ **"C-4"** - alternative culture centre in Lodz (ul.Weglowa 4).

★ **"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc")** - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26.

★ **"Czarny Pajak" ("Black Spider")** – anarchist space with discussion club, movie-projections, anarchist-library, etc. in the city of Lodz; www.czsz.org; maciek@riseup.net

★ **"De Centrum"** - anarchist squat in Bialystok, adress: ul.Czestochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl

★ **EMANCYPUNX** - anarcha-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.

★ **FA (Anarchist Federation)** - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.

- **FA- virtual collective secretary** - biurofa@go2.pl
  - **FA-Biala Podlaska** - fabp@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Bialystok** - wildeast@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Czestochowa** - akielasiak@wp.pl
  - **FA/RSA Gdansk** - jwal@pg.gda.pl
  - **FA-Inowroclaw** - pychu@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Krakow** - lukasdab@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lublin** - falublin@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Lodz** - falodz@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Opole** - sobol13@o2.pl
  - **FA-Ostrowiec Sw.** - marcin@natura.most.org.pl
  - **FA-Poznan** - fa-poznan@rozbrat.org
  - **FA-Rzeszow** - xjedrusx@o2.pl
  - **FA-Slupsk** - onetbifaid@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA/RSA Sochaczew** - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl
  - **FA-Szczecin** - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa** - natakr@poczta.onet.pl
  - **FA-Warszawa/Praga** - fapraga@o2.pl & fapraga@gmail.com
  - **FA-Wroclaw** - ahm@o2.pl
  - **FA Zyrardow** - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl

★ **Food Not Bombs**

- **Gdansk** - po box 118; 80-470 Gdansk 45.
- **Olsztyn** - edelweiss@o2.pl.
- **Poznan** - fnb@rozbrat.org
- **Warsaw** - fnb@op.pl; www.fnb.w.pl www.rozbrat.org/fnb.htm, we serve food every Sunday at west train station in Poznan
- **Rzeszow** - ul Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszow; tel.602769138.
- **Gliwice** - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com www.foodnotbombs.prv.pl

★ **"FREEDOM"** - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre & Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wroclaw. freedom69@go2.pl

★ **Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"** (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznan 61.

★ **Infoshop "Grapes of Wrath"** Targowa St. 22; Warsaw (300 meters from the Eastern Railway Station on Kijowska St.) Open: Mon.-Fri. 18^{30}- 20^{00} or longer, Sun. 14^{00}-17^{00} plus by appointment and during events (summer 2005 closed Aug. 15-31); www.alter.most.org.pl/infoszop

★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers Initiative of FA)** - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;

★ **IP-FA / Szczecin** - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.

★ **IP-FA / Silesia** - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl

★ **Inicjatywa Pracownicza (Workers Initiative)** - anarcho-syndicalist trade union, Poznan; www.workers-initiative.poland.prv.pl

★ **KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW (Collective of Autonomists)** - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Torun 17; michoo77@poczta.onet,pl

★ **"KROMERA"** - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wroclaw.

★ **LETS - Local Economy Trade System**

- **Krakow** - testcyf@kr.edu.pl
- **Poznan** - lets@poland.com

★ **"LITTLE MARY"** - anarchist squat in Czestochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;

★ **"Mac Parindka"** - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com

★ **"PILON"** - underground bar/caffe open Mo, Th, Fr and Sa from 7pm; adress: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Torun (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web:http://www.pilon.za.pl

★ **RAAF (Radical Anti-Fascist Action)** - www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl ; po box 43; 15-662 Bialystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl

★ **"Radical Cheer Leaders"** - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunx.

★ **"ROZBRAT"** - squat/ collective/ anarchist center/ anarchist library - ul. Pulaskiego, 21a, Poznan; P.O.Box 5, 60-966 Poznann 31, fa-poznan@rozbrat.org, www.rozbrat.org, www.foto.rozbrat.org

★ **S.E.K.W. "KRZYK"** - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tel.+48 504878370).

★ **"streFA"** - infoshop in Szczecin; ul.Domanskiego 1c, tel.504935357.

★ **"SZWEJK"** - anti-military service and Poznanian Anti-war Coalition; ul.Pulaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 31, www.antywojenna.prv.pl, antywojenna@rozbrat.org

★ **"TEKNO COLLECTIVE"** - underground techno crew from Torun; sadi@poczta.onet.pl

★ **WIEDZMA (the WITCH)** - anarcha feminist group; PO BOX 3321-500 BIALA PODLASKA; POLAND; witchgrrrl@poczta.onet.pl ; www.wiedzma.most.org.pl

★ **"YA BANDA"** - anarchist samba band Milanowek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl

ROMANIA

★ **AACTIV-IST Collective Timisoara, Antifa autonome** - anarchist punk group aactivistcollective@yahoo.com; pinkpanthers@k.ro; aac@bumerang.ro

★ **A Nera** - ecological, social and (counter) cultural center, in the mountains Cheile Nerei; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

★ **Actiunea Anarhista (Anarchist Action)** - spleenpatty@yahoo.com

★ **C.A.F. (Craiova Anarho Front)** - anarchist collective from city of Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com

★ **Gluga Neagra / Black Hood** - distribution & bookings for diy concerts tours; g_a_rezistenta@yahoo.com www.gluganeagra.go.ro

★ **INFO-PROPAGANDA** - anarchist leaflets publishing from Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com , libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **MISCAREA UNDERGROUND TIMISOARA** - (UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT TIMISOARA); www.ugtm.go.ro

★ **URA** - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html

★ **LOVE KILLS** - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; libertatero@yahoo.com , libertatera@yahoo.com

★ **"Revolta !"** - bymonthly anarchist & diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com

★ **"Revolutionshop"** - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com

★ **SUBTERAN COLLECTIVE** – anarchist-activists collective in the city of Iasy; subteran_iasi@yahoo.com

★ **www.proiectns.org** - grassroots activist site

★ **www.miscareapunk.go.ro** - site about punk (and not only) in Romania

RUSSIA

★ **ABC-Moscow** - spt2003@email.com; P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow (no name on envelope !!!)

★ **Alliance of Kazan Anarchists** - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod ru

★ **Anarchist League of Kamchatka** - 4tankista@mail.ru

★ **Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia** - PO Box, 135, Sochi. Russia, 354065. anliberation@rambler.ru

★ **ANTI-FA Samara** - anti_fa@mail.ru

★ **Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA)** - see "Noviy Swet" newspaper contact adress

★ **"Epicenter Infoshop"** - Evgeni Fayzullin, PO Box 103, St. Petersburg, 190013 e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nm.ru http://www.infoshop.spb.ru

★ **FOOD NOT BOMBS**

- **Moscow** - http://foodnotbombs.net.ru
- **Petersburg** - see Epicenter contact address
- **Kirov** - punkauskirov@mail.ru

★ **Free Trade Unions Confederation** - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru

★ **Indymedia Russia** - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; indyru@nadir.org;

★ **indymoskwa@pochtamt.ru** (Moscow);

★ **indymedia_piter@pochtamt.ru** (Petersburg);

★ **smeshno@riseup.net** (Kiev, Ukraine)

★ **IOKAS / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndycalist Federation** - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKAS; sidorovan@mail.ru

★ **JERRY RUBIN CLUB** - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anarchists and environmentalists; jrc@nm.ru; http://jerryclub.narod.ru

★ **KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarchosyndikalists)** - Moscow; c/o Vadim Damier; -Pereulok Alynova 13 Kv 24; 107258

Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://aitrus.narod.ru

★ **"MEGAPHON"** - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com

★ **Network of Working-place Resistance** - cockney@rambler.ru, http://antijob.nm.ru

★ **"NOVIY SVET"** - anarchist newspaper; newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).

★ **"NOZHI i VILKI"** - political punk/hardcore fanzine: zilonis@newmail.ru

★ **OLD SKOOL KIDS** - punk/hardcore label and distro: oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; [illegible]tp://oskids.nm.ru

[illegible] **Petersburg Antiwar CommitteE** - see "Noviy [illegible]" contact adress

[illegible] **ersburg League of Anarchists** - see "Noviy [illegible] ontact adress

[illegible] **REVIVAL** - network of politically and [illegible] ctive punx from St. Petersburg [illegible] w.pv.mahost.org

[illegible] **OW KEEPERS** - radical environmental [illegible] Contact adresses:

[illegible] **hniy Novgorod** - klem@dront.ru

[illegible] **tkinsk** - votkinskrk@mail.ru

[illegible] **asimov** - rk@rk.ryazan.ru (this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)

- **Perm** - puliark@rambler.ru
- **Volgograd** - maasha@rambler.ru
- **Ekaterinburg** - vty2@mail.ru, dpn@etel.ru
- **Moscow** - rkrzl@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
- **Samara** - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru http://duplo.narod.ru
- **Rostov** - rkrostov@don.sitek.net

★ **S.H. SOUND SYSTEM** - label & distro including political punk stuff; http://svinokop.narod.ru; diyhc@yahoo.com

★ **Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk; http://www.skt.org.ru

★ **"UTOPIA"** - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia; utopia@mail333.com

★ **"Victor Serge's Library"** - anarchist & communist library - City Library no.10, ulitsa Verkhnyaya Khokhlovka 39/47, metro "Marksistskaya"
Telephone/fax: +7 095 278 8156.
http://www.sergelibrary.org/

★ **"VOLYA"** - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); obschtschina@pisem.net; http://volja.nm.ru

★ **"ZHEST"** - anarcho-feminist magazine; zhest@pisem.ne

★ **www.squatting.ru** - portal, dedicated to squatter movement!

★ **Contacts of Autonomous Action**

Do not write names of the groups to envelopes! Never republish parts of this contact list without this note! Contacts are from Russia, unless specified otherwise.

★ Federal site is **http://www.avtonom.org**

★ Collective members of Autonomous Action.

Name of the group is Autonomous Action - <name of city or region>, unless specified otherwise.

- **Moscow** - P. O. Box 13, 109028 Moscow Russia, tuoom@seu.ru
- **Far East** (has members in Vladivostok and Nahodka) - ad_primorye@front.ru,
- **Ivanovo** - P. O. Box 1842, 153000 Ivanovo Russia, ad_ivanovo@front.ru
- **Irkutsk** - P. O. Box 166, 664058 Irkutsk Russia, klown@rambler.ru
- **Union of Kaliningrad Anarchists** - skakonig@mail.ru, http://www.anty-yuppi.narod.ru
- **Kem (Republic of Karelia, Russia)** - katousha@onego.ru
- **Krasnodar** - P. O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia
- **Nizhni Novgorod**, P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia, ad_nn@mail.ru, www.nnov.avtonom.org
- **Ryazan** - 137@mail.ru, http://ad-62.narod.ru
- **Saratov** - koluchka@pochtamt.ru
- **Ufa** - ADUfa@mail.ru , http://u-f-a.org.ru
- **Chelyabinsk** - P. O. Box 18742, 454021 Chelyabinsk Russia, naumov2@mail.ru
- **Http://commune.narod.ru**
- **Yerevan (Armenia)** - m_eduard@freenet.am

★ **Contacts of individual members of Autonomous Action**

- **Astrakhan** - podero@list.ru
- **Vsevolzhk (Leningrad Region, Russia)** - darkpunk@list.ru
- **Kirov** - redskin@ptlan.com
- **Perm** - P. O. Box 3095, Perm Russia ad-perm@rambler.ru; deadsun@rambler.ru
- **Tyumen** - P. O. Box 4481, 625001 Tyumen Russia, roustam_f@hotmail.com
- **Yaroslavl** - ad-yaroslavl@mail.ru

★ **Correspondents of Autonomous Action**

(distributors of press of the organisation without a formal membership)

- **Voronezh** - dingir@mail.ru, http://anarhvrn.narod.ru/ad
- **Izhevsk** - projectfreedom@mail.ru; timmad@udm.ru; antiwar@udm.ru
- **Yoshkar - Ola** - punk@zvenigovo.ru
- **Kolomna (Moscow Region, Russia)** - matherfacker2017@mail.ru
- **Naberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan, Russia)** - anarchist@chelny.com
- **Ozersk (Chelyabinsk Region, Russia)** - padlik@bk.ru
- **Murmansk** - P. O. Box 4614, 183050 Murmansk Russia.
- **Saint Petersburg** - blackguard@mail.ru
- **Minsk (Belarus)** - belarus@avtonom.org; www.belarus.avtonom.org
- **Lida - 2 (Grodno Region, Belarus)** P. O. Box 11, 231282 Lida -2, Grodno Oblast, Belarus
- **Donetsk (Ukraine)** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru
- **Sumy (Ukraine)** - P. O. Box 131, Glavpochtampt 40030 Sumy Ukraine, ivangrob@mail.ru

★ Websites of groups linked to Autonomous Action:

- **http://ad-direct.newmail.ru** - federal site maintained from Novorossisk
- **http://redskin.newmail.ru** - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk
- **http://antijob.nm.ru** - site against work, maintained from Moscow
- **http://anti-fa.da.ru** -Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara
- **http://potok.hotmail.ru** - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk
- **http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru** - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists
- **http://www.poet5.narod.ru** - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod
- **http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro** - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

SERBIA

★ **ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicijativa.org (international secretary); www.inicjativa.org

★ **Federation of Internationalist Anarchists** - federacija@ml1.net

★ **Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedwomen216@yahoo.com

★ **www.anarchy-serbia.tk** - anarcho site;

★ **www.afanovisad.tk** - Antifa Novi Sad

SLOVAKIA

★ **AFA-Bratislava (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava)** - bacity_afa@yahoo.com http://blava.antifa.net

★ **AFA-West (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia)** - afa_sk1@hotmail.com

★ **CIRNY KRIZ (CK, Black Cross)** - ciernykriz@yahoo.com.

★ **CSAF / Slovakia (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation)** - slovensko@csaf.cz {international contact}; regional contacts:

★ **CSAF Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz

★ **CSAF B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz

★ **CSAF Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz

★ **CSAF Vychod** - csaf_sk_vychod@yahoo.com;

★ **PRIAMA AKCIA (Direct Action)** - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; priamaakcia@yahoo.com

SLOVENIA

★ **A-distribution "Kontrakultura distribucija"** - kultura_kontra@yahoo.com

★ **AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN** - autonomous culture centre in squated swimm-pool in Kranj; www.akd-izbruh.tk; akd_izbruh@yahoo.com

★ **Anarhiv Resource Center** - Metelkova 6, SI - 1000 Ljubljana. tel. 00386-1-4340345, anarhiv@mail.ljudmila.org, www.ljudmila.org/anarhiv

★ **SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - saf.info@email.si

★ **Union of self-organised workers** - SiSD/USW - is_usw@yahoo.com Tel.: 00386(0)31892967

UKRAINE

★ **Autonomous Action / Donetsk** - redrash@mail.ru; redskins@mail.ru

★ **INFOSHOP** - infoshop in Kiev. http://infoshop.zaraz.org; infoshop@gmail.com

★ www.zaraz.org - Kiev's portal of libertarian initiatives. Web-site of anarchist group in Kiev. info@zaraz.org

TURKEY

★ **Anarsist Bakis** - http://go.to/anarsistbakis - archive of anarchist texts

★ **ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abcankara@yahoo.com

★ **"Imlasiz"** - www.imlasizdergi.cjb.net-anarchist magazine

★ **"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com

★ **KaosGL** - www.kaosgl.com - antiauthoritarian gay/lesbian group and magazine

★ **"Kara Kizil"** - http://www.karakizil.tr.cx- anarchocommunist gro up

★ **http://uygarligakarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivists

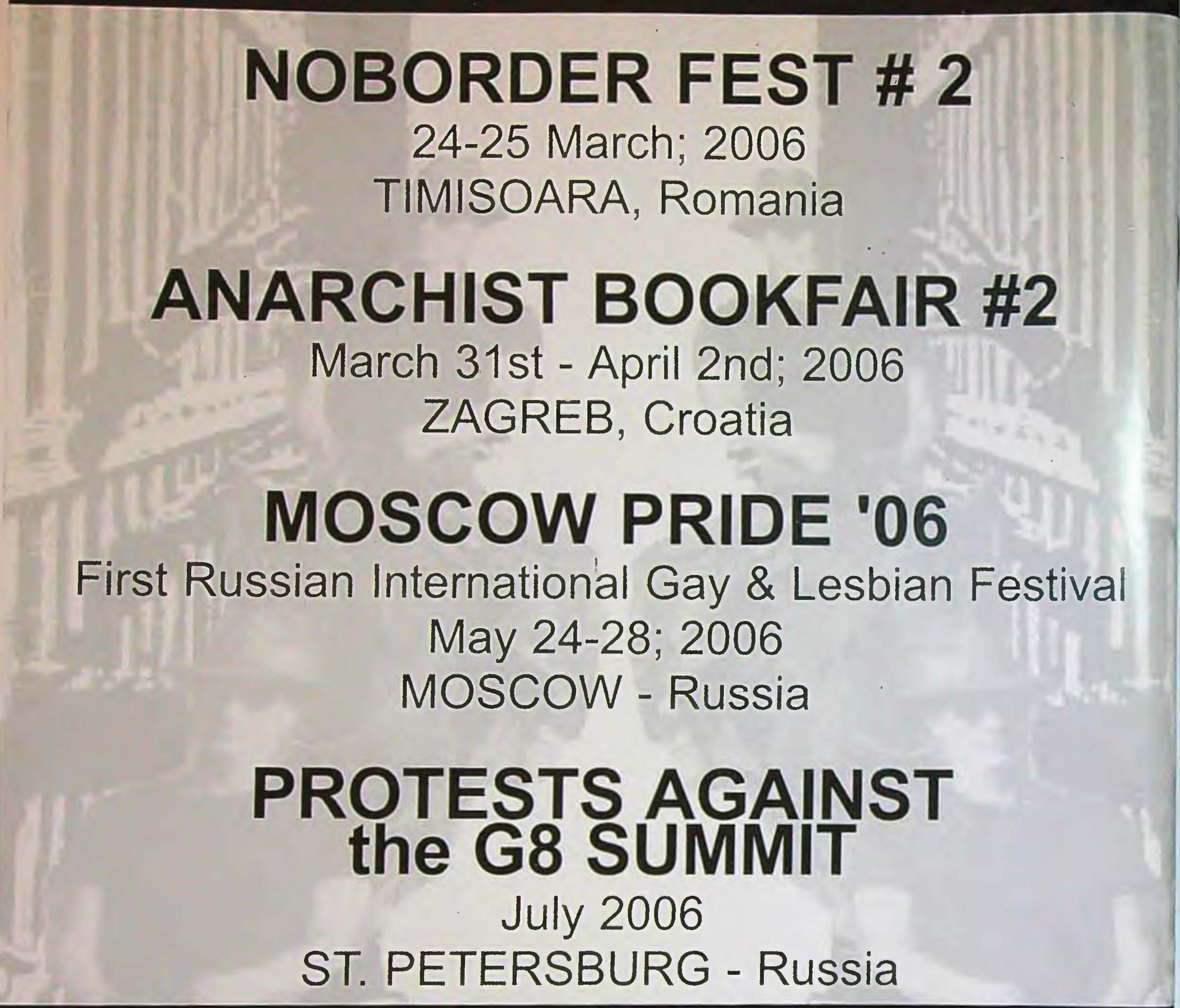
★ **http://ankarafanzin.freeservers.com** - zine from Ankara

★ **http://veganarsi.cjb.net** - anarchoprimitivist zine

★ **www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari** - anarchist publisher in istanbul

★ **www.mecmu-a.org** - magazine from Istanbul

EDUCATE - ORGANIZE - PROTEST



NOBORDER FEST # 2

24-25 March; 2006
TIMISOARA, Romania

ANARCHIST BOOKFAIR #2

March 31st - April 2nd; 2006
ZAGREB, Croatia

MOSCOW PRIDE '06

First Russian International Gay & Lesbian Festival
May 24-28; 2006
MOSCOW - Russia

PROTESTS AGAINST the G8 SUMMIT

July 2006
ST. PETERSBURG - Russia

SUBSCRIBE TO ABOLISHING THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

Are you living in a small village in the South Pole? Are you tired of waiting for our local distros to send you the new ABB? Or maybe you simply like to write us a little letter in order to ask us for the new number? Whatever reason you might have for it, your ABB crew started finally also to think about those needs.

We realize that in some regions there are still a lot of problems getting hold of copies of AbolishingBB, especially in the small villages and cities around EE, plus in all the regions of the globe where no regional distro. teams exist.

From the beginning, our distro. concept would rely on the regional distributors to cover the request of the newspaper. We have realized that this structure is not 100% working, therefore, believing strongly that everyone should/could have the possibility of access to the information and news contained in ABB, so we have decided to attempt to solve this problem by forming a special subscription team within our collective - all this to break the barriers and the borders around us and spread, as much as possible, the noise of the ongoing struggles in eastern Europe, hoping that the wind of anarchy, solidarity and mutual aid, coming out from these experiences, may blow to you.

LOVE AND RAGE
YOUR ABB CREW

For all subscription details, send an email to: abolishingbb_subs@riseup.net

ANALYSE - RESIST - CREATE NEW